NRA CODE

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S radio address on September 30 had more edge and a little less amiability than is customary for him. Evidently the criticism which has been leveled at the Administration and at the NRA has not failed to touch him—and this is just as well. Not necessarily because the NRA is so desperately in need of criticism, but because a fighting Roosevelt, a Roosevelt on the defensive, will stand considerably more chance of putting through a program for the next year or so than one who feels everything is going his way. The President in general asked for more time to work out the principles on which the NRA had been founded; he was disposed to scold business men who objected to the codes on the ground that they themselves had devised these regulations and would presently have an opportunity to amend them; he reviewed the increased security which the NRA has brought to investors and to business and labor generally; and he laid most emphasis on the truce he proposed between capital and labor, during which neither employers nor employees would retard the progress of business recovery by taking up "the weapons which lead to industrial war." All this will prove unsatisfactory to those critics of the Administration who have asked for a more definite program; but it is hardly fair to make such demands with election a month away. It is fairer to assume that once the uncertainties of November 6 have been resolved, the President will put before the people proposals as clear and specific as his last address was forceful. Until that time we can afford to let nature—or the NRA—take its course.

WITH GENERAL JOHNSON tearfully removed from the scene, reorganization of the NRA has proceeded with amazing alacrity. Administration is to be vested in a newly constituted National Industrial Recovery Board of five members; policies will be laid down by an Industrial Policy Committee which is to be headed by Donald R. Richberg; while juridical questions will be handled by a third agency yet to be designated. The outcome is undoubtedly a victory for the so-called liberal wing of the Administration, who were unwilling to see the entire NRA apparatus turned over directly to the industrial leaders. It is also important to note that the NRA machinery as such is to be divorced (by a final, not a nisi, decree) from jurisdiction over labor disputes, which appears extremely fortunate when one considers the personnel of the new board. But precisely what effect the change will have on general policy remains unclear. The President's radio talk reveals a growing tendency in Administration circles to question the desirability of limitation of production and price-fixing, particularly in the case of goods sold directly to the consumer. Whether either of these evils can actually be abandoned in the face of intrenched business interests is an open question. There is no indication, however, that the consumer is to be provided with a more effective weapon for combating the monopolistic powers of big business, or that there is to be a noticeable weakening in the trend toward increasing rigidity in the economic structure. Until there is a disposition to grapple with these underlying problems, the continuous scrambling of the various alphabetical agencies is not likely to be very helpful.

FACED with the united resistance of the cotton-garment manufacturers to his recent executive order modifying their code, the President has beaten a retreat. The thirty-six-hour week did not go into effect on October 1, as originally contemplated. The force of the order will be stayed until at least October 15, and it is possible that the order will never be executed. Concurrently with the stay the newly established National Industrial Recovery Board created an "impartial" committee of three to hear the complaints of the manufacturers, and to report back to the President by October 10. To be sure, the committee may find that the 10 per cent reduction in the work week was justified, and recommend accordingly. But the fact that an inquiry committee was created at all—after the exhaustive hearings and investigations that the NRA had earlier conducted on the subject—suggests that a compromise is in the making. There is food for thought, too, in the President's gentle and considerate treatment of employers who have openly announced their defiance of code provisions imposed on them by

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the government. They are not threatened, they are not even reasoned with; instead, the code provisions drafted by the manufacturers themselves remain in effect, and the NRA prepares to beat a graceful retreat. Possibly the NRA feels that it is treading on dangerous legal ground, in view of the lapsing of the license provision, in trying to force on recalcitrant manufacturers labor standards not of their own making. But the textile workers, when they protested against a code in the formulation of which they had virtually no part, were not treated with equal gentleness and consideration. On the contrary, they were cajoled into returning to work largely by promises that the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Federal Trade Commission would undertake studies on wages, hours, and man-hour productivity. And before the strikers could obtain even these mild concessions, they were subjected to a reign of terror—murders, beatings, raids, concentration camps. We wonder if this is what the President meant when he said that sometimes government intervention "seems necessary to produce . . . justice and right conduct."

THE SUDDEN RESIGNATION of the Samper Cabinet on October 1 leaves the Spanish Republic confronted by the gravest crisis of its history. Neither the right nor the left has been satisfied with the vague policies of the Samper coalition during its five months in office, yet neither is in a position to take power without violence. The Catholic Popular Action Party headed by José Maria Gil Robles, the strongest party in the Cortes, which hitherto has rather regretfully tolerated the government rather than risk an uprising by the left, has been primarily responsible for Samper's downfall. Socialists and Communists, on the other hand, in celebrating their "united front" against the threat of a Catholic-fascist coup, have openly asserted that the Second Republic was broken and that only a Marxist regime could now fulfil the just demands of the workers. Another election is out of the question because of the Socialists' declaration that they will abstain from voting, but neither will they submit to a government in which they are not represented. Added to these difficulties has been the strong discontent of Catalan leftists, controlling the autonomous regional government at Barcelona. Feeling between the Catalonians and the Madrid government has been particularly tense since the latter declared a local land-cultivation law to be unconstitutional. In the crisis it is doubtful whether President Alcalá-Zamora can form any government which can command general support. Yet failure means that civil war in inevitable.

APART FROM ADMITTING the Soviet Union into membership, the fifteenth Assembly of the League of Nations achieved little worthy of note. Conforming to the usual formula, nothing was decided, and all important issues were neatly sidetracked for subsequent consideration. Poland's demand for a generalization of the minorities system was overwhelmed by joint action of the Great Powers, mere routine consideration was given to the troublesome issues connected with the Saar plebiscite, while the Chaco conflict was disposed of by reference to another Committee of Twenty-two "for further study and recommendation." Fundamental issues such as those pertaining to the possible revision of the League Covenant were ignored. In fact, if it were not for the indiscretion of M. Litvinov, the various delegations could have returned to their respective homes without the painful necessity of having to think about mundane matters. Untrained in the niceties of League procedure, the Soviet representative was crude enough to remind the Assembly of the languishing disarmament conference, and, what was worse, to suggest that the nations abandon the pretense of disarmament discussions and terminate the meeting of the Assembly with a report from the chairman regarding the establishment of a more suitable form of organization. After having spent an uncomfortable twenty-four hours trying to decide what to do with this request, the Assembly decided, at the suggestion of Mr. Sandler, its president, "to confine itself to taking note of the Russian proposal." Against such diplomacy even M. Litvinov is helpless.

RECENT COMPLAINTS on the part of a few powerful minority groups in Europe have tended to overshadow the fact that a number of small nationalities have been subject to more or less continuous oppression for many years. Among the more vocal of these smaller groups are the Macedonians, who were distributed rather indiscriminately by the Treaty of Neuilly among Jugoslavia, Greece, and Bulgaria. In theory the full cultural and political rights of the Macedonian minorities, like those of the Ukrainians and Germans in Poland and the Ruthenians in Rumania, were guaranteed by treaty; in case of an infraction of these rights they were given the privilege of appealing directly to the League. Nevertheless, from the time of occupation Greek and Jugoslav authorities are alleged to have completely ignored all treaty commitments. Schools and churches in the Macedonians' native language (Bulgarian) are said to have been closed; Bulgarian books, including the Bible, have been strictly forbidden; and many Macedonians are reported to have been killed or driven into exile for alleged political activities. In contrast, conditions in Bulgaria have been until recently much more favorable. But the dictatorship set up by the coup d'etat of May 19 has been avowedly pro-Jugoslav and has ruthlessly endeavored to crush the rising Macedonian nationalist movement. Hundreds of Macedonians have been arrested and many interned, and the press has been subjected to a strict censorship. Possibly some of these complaints are exaggerated—whole nations frequently seem to suffer from a persecution complex—but if even a small proportion of them are true, the Macedonians are amply justified in demanding a thorough international investigation by a disinterested group.

FOR NANKING the failure of China to secure reelection to a seat on the League Council and the sweeping victories scored by the Red Army in Szechuan must come as a bitter disappointment after the high hopes entertained a few months ago. Scarcely a year has elapsed since Dr. Rajchman, director of the health section of the League Secretariat, arrived in China as the head of a group of technical experts who were to guide the Chinese in planning and carrying out a somewhat grandiose scheme for national rehabilitation. Both the invitation and its acceptance were generally recognized as deliberate moves to counteract Japan's bid for hegemony in the Far East, although the plan, as presented by Dr. Rajchman in April, appeared to have been drawn up with the specific purpose of combating the growing Communist movement in the interior of the country. Alarmed by

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the far-reaching character of the program, Japan, although no longer an active member of the League, was able to bring sufficient pressure to bear to prevent Dr. Rajchman from returning to China. With his chief assistant, M. Borcic, likewise withdrawn from Nanking and no one sent out to replace them, there is great anxiety lest the whole program for national reconstruction be allowed to collapse for lack of League assistance. On the home front the situation is equally discouraging. Although Chiang Kai-shek's sixth annual anti-Communist campaign has made a certain amount of progress in the province of Kiangsi, the heart of the Red area, it has been recently reported that Liu Hsiang, commander-in-chief of the Nanking forces in Szechuan, has suddenly resigned his post and departed for parts unknown. As a result the entire province of Szechuan, one of the richest and most densely populated in China, threatens to fall under Communist control. The Red forces also appear to be making considerable progress in Kweichow and Fukien. And as if these woes were not sufficient, China is struggling to discover some means of protection against America's silver-buying program.

WITHOUT SURPRISING ANYBODY, the New York State Democrats have renominated Governor Lehman to head the State ticket. The Governor will probably make a fair-to-middling campaign, and the protests of the milk producers from upstate and of the guaranteed-mortgage certificate holders from the cities will sound dismally in his ears as he makes his preelection speeches. But he has the irresistible weight of the New Deal behind him and there is small doubt that it will push him safely back into office on Election Day. The Republicans, on the other hand, have chosen in Robert Moses a campaigner who is vigorous, spirited, plain-spoken, a man with a long record of uniquely useful public service—so unique, indeed, that one might very well refrain from voting for him for Governor because he is so excellent a Park Commissioner. But in a State which has had Democratic governors for the last twelve years, and in a year when the Democratic Party throughout the country is highly in the ascendant, Mr. Moses may campaign as well as he can; the bets are all against him. It is likely that the Republican party leaders dimly sense something of the kind, for if they had thought they had a fighting chance to win they would not have chosen a man who has consistently refused to play politics and who does not care whom he offends while he is performing what he forthrightly considers to be his duty.

THE CAMPAIGN presents several amusing ironies, not the least of which is the spectacle of Mr. Moses, whose park program began under the governorship and with the aid and friendship of Alfred E. Smith, at the head of the crowd which Smith fought all through his long service as Governor of the State. And on the other side, Mr. Smith comes in again, offering Governor Lehman's name in nomination with lavish encomiums for his term of office, not once mentioning the New Deal which Mr. Smith's own party created and is pledged to, and referring only to Franklin D. Roosevelt as "Governor" Roosevelt, when it is fairly well known that he has since attained to a higher office, although not with the help of Mr. Smith. A kind of perverted amusement may also be derived from a reading of the two party platforms. One of them, after describing the new ease, security, and peace which have come upon the country, adds: "Chaos and panic have been banished, fear dispelled, hope and confidence restored." The other platform paints a darker picture, finds our national credit damaged, our people suffering, "industry torn by strife," "bewilderment, fear, and despair on every hand; radical, demagogic, and extravagant promises to every group and element in the country, except the thrifty." Every pupil above the third grade may now step up and say which is taken from the Democratic platform and which from the Republican. After which both of them may be referred to that estimable journal, the *New Yorker,* for inclusion in its Ho-hum Department.

THE CONGRESSIONAL CARAVANS organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom seem to us to indicate a significant growth of realism and sincerity in the peace movement of this country. Not so many years have passed since peace organizations confined themselves largely to pious resolutions deploring the horrors of war, or at most to the encouragement of individual pacifism. More recently activities have largely centered around so-called educational campaigns in which an effort is made to analyze some of the underlying causes of war. The caravans of the Women's International League, however, are seeking by a nation-wide campaign to inform peace groups throughout the country concerning the concrete issues revealed by the munitions investigation, and to make these issues paramount in the fall elections. Organizers are to visit each Congressional district, hold meetings, interview candidates, and impress upon them the strength of the peace sentiment among their own constituents. In our opinion this is definitely a move in the right direction and should contribute needed clarity to the American political scene.

THOSE WHO LOOK for a new spirit and a new vision in the American Federation of Labor will not be encouraged by the results of the first skirmishes at the San Francisco convention. The Metal Trades Department, a craft-union stronghold, has come out flatly against the incorporation of its various jurisdictions in a single industrial grouping. It proposes, instead, a compromise whereby the various jurisdictions retain their present craft autonomy but join together in individual plants for the negotiation of common wage agreements. This proposal, to be sure, represents progress over the past attitude of the Metal Trades Department. If adopted, it will no doubt make for more effective collective bargaining in individual plants. But it avoids truly fundamental issues: how to make collective bargaining effective throughout the whole range of the metal industries; how to bring home the benefits of collective bargaining to the mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers instead of confining these benefits to the skilled craftsmen. The Building Trades Department, in turn, has been torn asunder by a jurisdictional dispute of the first magnitude. The refusal of the groups currently in control of the department to reinstate, after seven years' absence, the triple alliance composed of the electricians, the carpenters, and the bricklayers is bound to have serious repercussions not only on the internal structure of the A. F. of L. but also on the progress of reemployment in the construction industry. When the various building trades made common cause for the first time in the formulation of the construction code, it appeared to some enthusiasts that the

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era of the jurisdictional strike had definitely passed. After the code was approved, moreover, progress was made toward the creation of machinery which would settle jurisdictional disputes within the A. F. of L. family. The rejection of the triple alliance crushes all these enthusiastic hopes and paralyzes all the proposed machinery. If the building trades revive under the stimulus of the Administration's housing program, a nation-wide outburst of jurisdictional disputes is likely to ensue. Such strikes would furnish anti-union employers in general with heaven-sent arguments against the strengthening of trade unions by governmental action.

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION has been sending up the cry of "socialized medicine" and throwing the weight of its prestige against it every time any plan which threatens the ancient doctor-patient relationship is put forward. But more and more physicians are realizing the shortcomings of our present system of medical care and the need for meeting the drain of charity cases. The American Hospital Association, for instance, in convention in Philadelphia, unanimously indorsed group hospitalization. Speaker after speaker pointed out its advantages: how a group-insurance plan could solve the problem of meeting the cost of medical attention which afflicts so large a portion of the country's population, and how, from the professional point of view, it would provide an adequate income for the average doctor. The delegates actually cheered the proposal. The next day, in Pittsburgh, the Pennsylvania Homeopathic Medical Society heard from its president, Dr. C. Dudley Saul of Philadelphia, the unequivocal demand for socialized medicine. Both these instances, typical signs of the times, give fresh hope that physicians may at last be learning to heal themselves.

OUR PIOUS CONTEMPORARY, *Editor and Publisher,* which finds sermons in advertising linage figures and Richard Harding Davises behind every bush, is terribly, terribly upset by the American Newspaper Guild. The guild hasn't behaved as *Editor and Publisher* wanted it to, and instead of becoming a wishy-washy pseudo-professional group dabbling in questions of ethical standards, it is flirting with labor unions in an effort to win the recognition hitherto denied it. Not only is the guild a "radical trade union," but its monthly paper, Mr. Marlen Pew finds, is so "scurrilous" that it might be confused with the Communist *Daily Worker.* Mr. Pew left-handedly admits that, as charged in the indictment, publishers have "stalled them off, strung them along, refused to bargain, and spiked their every effort," but in as fine a confusion of cause and effect as there is on record he finds that this is because the guild is so radical and because it has sought to "make a license of NRA." (What else is the NRA, Mr. Pew?) When it is remembered that *Editor and Publisher* speaks not for the average newspaperman—reporter, rewrite man, and copy reader—but for editors and publishers, Mr. Pew's sound and fury may be taken with a grain of salt. It is true that the guild has veered somewhat to the left, as was pointed out in these columns several weeks ago, but even that doesn't bring it past dead center, Heywood Broun not being the whole membership. Newspapermen, like other workers, are interested in security, and if they can't get it on an individual gentleman-to-gentleman basis, they will get it collectively, as they are privileged to do by law.

The Rubber-Hose Convention

THOSE who are following the developments in the Lindbergh case may have been given pause by a special story appearing on the front page of the New York *World-Telegram.* Hauptmann, says the author, has not been given the "conventional third degree." The *World-Telegram* was "informed today" that there has been "no rubber hose" and "no modernized physical torture for him"; the case is too important and the "authorities" are afraid to jeopardize it by methods which might prove a boomerang.

It is nice to know that Hauptmann has not been passing his days in a torture chamber. We were not, however, aware that the "authorities" had been in the habit of admitting that a rubber hose and other "modernized physical torture" were "conventional" and used as a matter of course upon suspects less in the public eye. We were under the impression that the police department vehemently denied that it ever resorted to such methods, which are, of course, plainly illegal as well as indefensible on any grounds whatsoever. Who are the "authorities" who now casually admit that as a special favor Hauptmann is being granted the protection which the law prescribes for every accused person no matter who he may be? What do Mayor LaGuardia and his new Commissioner of Police think of their statement? Does not the Mayor owe it to himself as well as to everybody else to seek an explanation? Unless, of course, he too regards the beating up of prisoners as a "conventional" proceeding to be dispensed with only in cases where there seems to be some danger that the mistreatment of the prisoner may come to light and thus jeopardize the state's case against him. We note that an article in the New York *Law Journal* warns the police that confessions obtained by third-degree methods have no legal standing. Would it be necessary to issue such a *caveat* if the legal profession were not well aware that these brutal and extra-legal methods are "conventional"?

Oddly enough, however, we seem to make up for our brutality to unknown persons by a surprising tenderness toward those who have wealth or position, and if we treat—or mistreat—the suspect as though he were proved guilty, we sometimes treat the guilty as though they were really innocent. Consider, for example, the case of Bernard Marcus, the convicted president of the defunct Bank of United States, who has just been transferred from Sing Sing to the far more comfortable quarters of Wallkill, where, so a dispatch to the New York *Times* informs us, "every effort is made to avoid the usual prison atmosphere." The transfer was not recommended by Warden Lawes, and it seems a bit odd that Marcus should be lodged in a prison "built as a place to rehabilitate young first offenders and to protect them against association with hardened criminals." Perhaps, however, it will seem less odd when it is noted that among the other "young first offenders" housed at Wallkill are Leonard Teed, convicted of stealing $200,000 from Westchester County; Harold La Polt, convicted of embezzlement while treasurer of Middletown; and Arthur W. Morse, broker, convicted of fatally beating Mrs. Edna Leavitt in his Greenwich Village apartment.

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A Federal Inquiry Is Needed

IN its issue of August 29 *The Nation* printed reproductions of two reports to Albert E. Boynton, managing director of the Industrial Association of San Francisco, covering police raids on radical and labor meeting places in San Francisco on July 17 and 18, the day before and the first day of the general strike. One of the reports was signed by the typewritten name "Carr" with the initial letter "P" penciled in. Both were headed "Strike Violence Memo." The person who sent the documents had been known to *The Nation* as a reliable investigator. Their authenticity was vouched for by the San Francisco office of the American Civil Liberties Union. It was stated by the sender that the reports were made by a member of the San Francisco police force. Before publication, however, *The Nation* was informed through the Civil Liberties Union that P. Carr was a private operative and not a police officer. In commenting upon the documents *The Nation* asserted editorially that they contained "circumstantial evidence" that the San Francisco Industrial Association "was actively involved in the raids on radical halls which helped to break the general strike," and urged that a thorough investigation of the role of the association be made by a properly qualified committee. At the same time the American Civil Liberties Union, in a telegram to Mr. Boynton, proposed that the Industrial Association open "its complete files dealing with the general strike to examination by an impartial national inquiry commission of outstanding persons."

Before the issue containing the reproductions of the documents had actually appeared on the Coast, *The Nation* received from Mr. Boynton a telegram charging that the article and the documents were "grossly untruthful and libelous" and denying that the association "had any previous knowledge or connection with any of the arrests in the strikes or in either the police or unauthorized raids on Communist quarters." He demanded that *The Nation* retract its "conclusions and implications" and offered for the inspection of any authorized agent the "full files of these reports." *The Nation* took up the offer and asked the American Civil Liberties Union in San Francisco to act as its agent, at the same time urging the Industrial Association to accept the proposal of the American Civil Liberties Union for a wider inquiry, and pledging itself to publish any findings that might result.

The representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union in San Francisco have completed their scrutiny of the file of the "Strike Violence Memos." Their report appears on page 411 of this issue. They discovered that "P. Carr" is in fact James K. Carr, a long-time employee of the Industrial Association whose function is to persuade San Francisco employers to hire non-union men on all possible jobs. Who inserted the initial "P" appearing on the document, neither the Civil Liberties Union nor *The Nation* knows. The reports in question are genuine and are two of a long series on the same subject made by a group of four "reporters" employed by the association. *The Nation* willingly states that the "full files of these reports" show no evidence that the Industrial Association was "actively involved" in the red raids of July 17 and 18. But it must be emphasized that the investigators were very literally limited to these files. At no time were they allowed to examine, as had been suggested, "the complete files [of the association] dealing with the general strike." Moreover, they were promised, and then denied, for unsatisfactory reasons, permission to make photostats even of a few of those reports which they were allowed to examine. (See Report III, Section 5.)

The Nation does not withdraw its demand for an investigation of the raids and of the role of the Industrial Association; for the report of the Civil Liberties Union raises more important questions than the one it answers.

The Industrial Association went to great lengths to get the detailed information contained in its "Strike Violence Memos." In his telegram to *The Nation* Mr. Boynton asserted that these "memos" were "simply news reports" gathered from police blotters and hospital records, and that no one in the association "had any previous knowledge" of the raids or the arrests. This statement is inaccurate. According to the Civil Liberties Union report, on at least two occasions the association got confidential "tips" on raids before they occurred. One of its reporters stated to the investigators that he often accompanied the police in their squad cars (Report V) and that he had known of the raids in advance; that he knew on Tuesday, July 3, of raids that were to be made on "Bloody Thursday," July 5; that he was the only reporter at the station to which he was assigned who had the information. Two of the reports to the association (Exhibit 5) contain references to a raid on Upton Sinclair's headquarters which never actually took place. The association picked up tips and reports from police radio calls on a radio set installed for that purpose in the office. It also, at least once, had a man posted on the top of a building to observe the industrial battle through field glasses.

Why should the Industrial Association spend time and money helping the newspapers do their job by compiling "simply news reports" out of material that was "open to the public," going even so far as to include the names and addresses of the hundreds of radicals caught up in the police net? The answer to this question, asked in the course of the Civil Liberties Union investigation, merely makes the question more pertinent and important. According to the report, Mr. Boynton said that "they wanted the papers to get all the strike-violence news possible" and that "they wanted a lot of such information direct and quick." The question still remains: Why? Was the association, perhaps, engaged in compiling a comprehensive blacklist for the use of its members? Considering that its purpose is to combat the closed shop in San Francisco, considering its avowed hostility to "reds" and radicals in general, considering the further fact that during the strike it brought 200 strike-breakers into San Francisco to move goods from the docks under police protection, it would seem reasonable to suspect that these names and addresses were not collected merely for fun or to satisfy a detached craving for information. The statement of James K. Carr (Exhibit 1) discloses that "quite frequently a member of our legal staff who was sometimes present at these trials as an observer carried with him a copy of these

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reports giving the names of the arrested . . . to assist him in locating the various courts where the arrested would appear." Why was the association interested in having a member of its legal staff present at trials?

More than once in the course of the Civil Liberties Union investigation it was implied by officers of the Industrial Association that organized labor itself was responsible for the raids. This was also charged in the press. It was vehemently denied by even the most conservative labor leaders. It was even denied by one of Mr. Carr's "reporters." (See Report V.) Is it true? If not, who was responsible? Widespread brutality and lawlessness are seldom wholly spontaneous. They are instigated and encouraged and led; sometimes they are paid for. More vigorously than ever, *The Nation* demands that the whole story of official and unofficial lawlessness on the Coast be uncovered. The technique of terror developed during and after the general strike is far more than a matter of local concern. It appears wherever the labor struggle is sufficiently intense to generate fear and anger.

Mr. Boynton declared to *The Nation's* investigators that the Industrial Association was "as innocent as a newborn babe." Manifestly only the examination of all the association's files dealing with the general strike can disclose fully the role it played. The American Civil Liberties Union, accredited representative of *The Nation,* has been refused access to these files. Obviously only a Congressional or Senatorial committee with full power to subpoena witnesses will be able to make a full investigation of the raids which took place in San Francisco during the general strike, and place the responsibility. We renew the recommendation that such an investigation be authorized by Congress and that Mr. Boynton be called as the first witness.

The Price Is Too High

THE "settlement" of the textile strike takes on a new significance in the light of President Roosevelt's proposal for an industrial truce, with all disputes to be handled through "mediation or arbitration of State or federal agencies." In the textile walkout the Winant board issued a report which was almost too fair to be good. It admitted all the grievances of the workers to be real, but it made no recommendations for their immediate or specific amelioration. Instead, it suggested two more boards and investigations. After February 1, when the various boards and investigating agencies will presumably have found out how hard a textile operative works for how little money a week—the fact that 400,000 were desperate enough to go on strike might be cited as evidence—they will make recommendations. The report fails to state what will happen if meanwhile the board assigned to investigate the textile industry finds that it is so inefficiently conducted and for other reasons in such a depressed condition that it cannot afford to pay Susy Jones $12 for thirty hours of skilled work. (It now pays her $10.)

That the leaders of the United Textile Workers of America should have accepted the board's report as a settlement and called off the strike without so much as waiting for the employers to agree to its fair-to-a-fault recommendations is a tragedy for the textile worker. It is also extremely significant in connection with the President's proposal for an industrial truce and the hearty indorsement of that proposal by William Green. The textile walkout was called off in spite of the pressure of the strikers who had brought it about. The pressure to end the strike came from a labor bureaucracy which had resisted it from the beginning—and from the President himself in the role of the protector of labor. The union rushed to comply with the President's request; the employers hung back until the strike had fallen to pieces and then made it clear by their actions if not by their public statements that they had very little intention of living up to the ideals of the Winant report. If the leadership of a strike of such proportions can be made to yield so easily to the pressures for peace that are applied in Washington, where will the rank-and-file worker be if he yields up, even temporarily, his only form of pressure, the right to strike.

In other words, the truce which Mr. Roosevelt proposes and which Mr. Green, afflicted with the love of official favor, so enthusiastically praises is entirely one-sided. The employers in the guise of the National Association of Manufacturers, encouraged by this prospect of a strikeless era beyond their fondest dreams, are already demanding a Presidential proclamation of an industrial truce during which the "status quo" of employment relations would be maintained until the end of the depression. It is hard to imagine that the President will even consider this insolent proposal. But for all practical purposes his own proposal can easily amount to the same thing. If the right to strike is interfered with in any manner, employment relations may in fact be frozen into a "status quo"—with serious consequences to millions of underpaid workers already struggling against rising costs of living, not to mention the avowed central policy of the Roosevelt Administration, namely, to bring about recovery by increasing purchasing power. For the ubiquitous labor board, the weapon which Mr. Roosevelt offers the worker in lieu of the strike, has proved all too often—in automobiles, in textiles, in shipping—to be a false hope leading to other false hopes in the form of more and more boards.

In saying this we are not overlooking the vast improvement in the point of view and the actual functioning of the labor board as an instrument of government policy since General Johnson removed himself as an authority on Section 7-a by seeking to compose the labor troubles of the steel industry on terms dictated by the Iron and Steel Institute. The improvement may be traced not so much to the creation of the independent National Labor Relations Board as to the steadily growing evidence that the Garrison board has clear and distinct ideas which it intends to enforce. The labor boards are gradually being divorced from the NRA and set on their own feet under Public Resolution 44. The best thing about the textile settlement is the fact that the Textile Labor Relations Board is entirely independent of the NRA, specifically of the Code Authority.

But even at their best—and there is, so far as we know, only one Garrison board—the existing State and federal agencies of "mediation and arbitration" have not yet shown their competence to guarantee to the worker his just share in the control of his conditions of labor. The strike remains his only effective weapon. He should not give up—and the President should not ask him to—his right to strike for a mess of boards.

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Issues and Men

The Case of General O'Ryan

THE withdrawal of General John F. O'Ryan as Police Commissioner of New York ends a disheartening episode in the LaGuardia administration of New York City. I was largely responsible for the friendly attitude taken by *The Nation* toward General O'Ryan on his appointment. I remembered him as the most efficient militia general in France. I recalled that he made a number of admirable anti-war speeches on his return from France, and that he took a more liberal attitude on various questions than would ordinarily be expected from the regular military man. I was not aware that he was a member of the so-called Kernan board which refused to reveal the charges made by returning soldiers against the administration of justice in the army, or that he participated in the miscarriage of justice which the report of that board was. Certainly the friends of General O'Ryan were not prepared for the statement that he made during the taxicab strike: "My background has been military, and my training hasn't much to do with liberalism."

That statement alone showed that he was out of place in the LaGuardia administration and should never have been appointed to it, for Mayor LaGuardia has tried his best to give a square deal to labor, especially to strikers, and has really wanted to have an exceptional police force in New York City—exceptional in that it would not consider itself an organization of strike-breakers bound to hit anybody over the head who was on strike or who wished to protest against injustices in accordance with his constitutional rights. This was a great aim because, as *The Nation* has so frequently pointed out, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred our constituted authorities do not hold the scales even, but consider themselves agents and guardians of the capitalists. That does not mean we favor lawlessness or would permit strikers to resort to violence. The taxicab strike in New York was a disgrace to the city, and as such reflected on both Mayor LaGuardia and General O'Ryan. It was mishandled from the start, and the strikers were utterly lawless in overturning and wrecking cabs, infringing on the rights of innocent passengers, impeding traffic, and generally disturbing the public order. The much-boasted riot squads never seemed to turn up at the right moment, and even in the heart of the city, around Times Square, hundreds of strikers smashed their way through the theater crowds.

In only one case did I read that General O'Ryan was himself on the spot. The best thing about General Pelham D. Glassford, who did such a grand job with the Washington police in the handling of the bonus army, was that he rode a motor cycle and was always in evidence at the scene of trouble. General O'Ryan apparently—I do not wish to do him any injustice—stayed at headquarters according to army tactics in France, and rarely appeared on the scene. On the other hand, there is right on his side in claiming interference by the Mayor. You cannot have the police directed both from the City Hall and Police Headquarters. If early in the taxicab strike it was apparent that General O'Ryan was not handling it to the satisfaction of the Mayor, he should have been superseded, or the Mayor, by virtue of his authority as Chief Magistrate, should have personally taken over the direction of the police, and then discharged General O'Ryan just as soon as the strike was over. The simple fact is that General O'Ryan revealed himself as a narrow soldier, deeply opinionated. He is without the all-important realization that a high public official, intrusted with the vital duty of preserving safety and order in the chief American city, must not take sides with anybody in any labor dispute, and must not put his faith in preserving order by clubbing everybody whose methods, or manners, or party labels he does not like. Just one phrase in General O'Ryan's statement of September 24 stamps him clearly. Here it is: "The known attitude of the Mayor encouraged the Communists and *other vicious elements of the city* to exploit these occasions for their own ends" (italics mine). What right has he to call the Communists of New York a "vicious element"? There are hoodlums among them, and their leadership deserves condemnation, but it cannot be stressed too often that the bulk of them are law-abiding and that all of them are legally entitled to the opinions that they hold. Is their party not on the ballot? General O'Ryan could hardly commit a more serious crime against the American spirit, the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution, than to join in the hue and cry against a political opinion, a state of mind.

Right here we have, as I have often stated, a chief cause of the lawlessness in America—the lawlessness of the public official, his utter failure to understand and to recognize the rights of minorities, however unpopular, and above all the rights of the striking workingman. General O'Ryan is quoted as saying on April 10: "I don't believe in times of emergency in letting crowds collect." But it was his sworn duty to let crowds collect if they were peaceable and orderly and did not interfere with passers-by. The truth is that under General O'Ryan there was a lot of police brutality in New York, notably in the so-called Harlem riots, where the police exceeded their powers and authority and were guilty of outrageous attacks upon innocent persons, the report of a police official to the contrary notwithstanding. It is high time that he went. It is to be hoped that the new head of the police, Inspector Valentine, will cooperate with the Mayor in his desire to uphold the Constitution and the rights of individuals, precisely as they are upheld in London, where charges of police brutality are so rare as to cause intense indignation; where Communists and Anarchists are allowed to parade, in times of emergency as in times of quiet, under the supervision of the police, but with complete respect for their rights.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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A Cartoon by LOW

SOMETHING WRONG WITH ROOSEVELT'S "NEW DEAL".

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The Tragedy of the Political Exiles

By EMMA GOLDMAN

DURING my ninety days in the United States old friends and new, including people I had never met before, spoke much of my years in exile. It seemed incredible to them that I had been able to withstand the vicissitudes of banishment and come back unbroken in health and spirit and with my ideal unmarred. I confess I was deeply moved by their generous tribute. But also I was embarrassed, not because I suffer from false modesty or believe that kind things should be said about people only after their death, but rather because the plight of hosts of political exiles scattered over Europe is so tragic that my struggle to survive was hardly worth mentioning.

The lot of political refugees, even prior to the war, was never free from stress and poverty. But they could at least find asylum in a number of countries. France, Belgium, Switzerland were open to them. Scandinavia and the Netherlands received them kindly. Even the United States was hospitable enough to admit some refugees. The real haven, however, was England, where political rebels from all despotic lands were made welcome.

The world carnage put an end to the golden era when a Bakunin and a Herzen, a Marx and a Kropotkin, a Malatesta and a Lenin, Vera Sazulich, Louise Michel, and all the others could come and go without hindrance. In those days who cared about passports or visas? Who worried about one particular spot on earth? The whole world was one's country. One place was as good as another where one could continue one's work for the liberation of one's autocratic native land. Not in their wildest dreams did it occur to these revolutionaries that the time might come when the world would be turned into a huge penitentiary, or that political conditions might become more despotic and inhuman than during the worst period of the Czars. The war for democracy and the advent of left and right dictatorships destroyed whatever freedom of movement political refugees had formerly enjoyed. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children have been turned into modern Ahasueruses, forced to roam the earth, admitted nowhere. If they are fortunate enough to find asylum, it is nearly always for a short period only; they are always exposed to annoyance and chicanery, and their lives made a veritable hell.

For a time expatriated Russians were given some protection by means of the Nansen, or League of Nations, passport. Most countries were supposed to recognize that scrap of paper, though few did, least of all when politically tainted individuals applied for admission. Still, the Nansen passport was better than nothing at all. Now this too has been abolished, and Russian refugees are entirely outside the law. Terrible as was the Czarist time, it was yet possible to bribe one's way across frontiers. That is possible no longer, not because border police have suddenly become honest, but because every country is afraid of the bolshevik or the fascist germ and keeps the frontier hermetically sealed, even against those who hate every form of dictatorship.

I have already stated that political exiles are sometimes lucky enough to find an abode, but that by no means includes the right to work. Anything they do to eke out a wretched existence, such as lessons, translations, or any kind of physical labor, must be done furtively. Should they be caught, it would again mean the wearisome round of seeking another country. Politicals are constantly at the beck and call of the authorities. It is almost a daily occurrence for them to be pounced upon suddenly at an early morning hour, dragged out of bed, taken to the police station, and then expelled. It is not necessary to be guilty of any offense, such as participation in the internal political affairs of the country whose hospitality they have accepted.

A friend of mine is a case in point. He was expelled from a certain country merely for editing a small bulletin in English in order to raise funds for the Russian political prisoners. After we succeeded in bringing him back, he was three times ordered to leave, and when he was finally allowed to remain, it was on condition that he apply for a renewal of the permit every three months. For days and weeks he had to camp at the police station and waste time and health running from department to department. While waiting for the renewal he could not leave the city of his domicile. Every new place he might want to visit implied new registration, and as he was left without a single document while his renewal was pending, he could nowhere be registered. In other words, my friend was virtually a prisoner in one city until the renewal was granted. Few there are who could have survived such treatment. But my friend had been steeled in American prisons for sixteen years, and his had always been an indomitable will. Yet even he had almost come to the end of his endurance when the three months' renewal period was extended to six.

However, these miseries are by no means the only tragedies in the present plight of most political refugees. There are many more that try their souls and turn their lives into hideous nightmares. No matter how great their suffering in pre-war times, they had their faith and their work to give them an outlet. They lived, dreamed, and labored incessantly for the liberation of their native lands. They could arouse public opinion in their place of refuge against the tyranny and oppression practiced in their country, and they were able to help their comrades in prison with large funds contributed by the workers and liberal elements in other parts of the world. They could even ship guns and ammunition into Czarist Russia, despotic Italy, and Spain. These were certainly inspiring and sustaining factors. Not less so was the solidarity that existed among the politicals of different schools. Whatever their theoretical differences, there was mutual respect and confidence among them. And in times of important issues they worked together, not in a make-believe but in a real united front.

Nothing of that is left. All political movements are at each other's throats—more bitter, vindictive, and downright savage against each other than they are against their common enemies. The most unpardonable offender in this respect is the so-called Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Not only is it keeping up a process of extermination of all

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political opponents in and outside its territory, but it is also engaged in wholesale character assassination. Men and women with a heroic record of revolutionary activity, persons who have consecrated themselves to their ideals, who went through untold sufferings under the Romanovs, are maligned, misrepresented, dubbed with vile names, and hounded without mercy. It is certainly no coincidence that my friend was expelled for a bulletin designed to raise money for the Russian politicals.

To be sure the Mussolinis and Hitlers are guilty of the same crime. They and their propaganda machines mow down every political opponent in their way. They also have added character assassination to the butchery of their victims. Human sensibilities have become dulled since the war. If the suffering of the German and Austrian refugees had failed to rekindle the dying embers of sympathy, one would have had to lose all faith in mankind. The generous response to their need is indeed the only ray of light on the black social horizon.

The Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists have, of course, been forgotten. Or is it ignorance that causes the deadly silence about their plight? Do not the protesters against German atrocities know that Anarchists also are in Göring's dreadful concentration camps, subject to the brutalities of the Storm Troop barbarians, and that some of them have undergone more heinous punishment than most of the other Nazi victims? For instance, Erich Mühsam. Poet and social rebel, he paid his toll to the German Republic after the Bavarian uprising. He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison, of which he served five. On his release he immediately threw himself into the work of showing the inhuman conditions in the prisons under the Socialist and republican government. Being a Jew and an Anarchist and having a revolutionary past, Erich Mühsam was among the first to be dragged off by the SA gangsters. He was repeatedly slugged and beaten, his teeth were knocked out, his hair and beard pulled, and the swastika cut on his skull with a penknife. After his death in July, announced by the Nazis as "suicide," his widow was shown his tortured body, with the back of the skull crushed as if it had been dragged on the ground, and with unmistakable signs of strangulation.

Indifference to Mühsam's martyrdom is a sign of the sectarianism and bigotry in liberal and radical ranks today. But what I really want to stress is this: the barbarity of fascism and Nazism is being condemned and fought by the persons who have remained perfectly indifferent to the Golgotha of the Russian politicals. And not only indifferent; they actually justify the barbarities of the Russian dictatorship as inevitable. All these good people are under the spell of the Soviet myth. They lack awareness of the inconsistency and absurdity of their protesting against brutalities in capitalist countries when they are condoning the same brutalities in the Soviet Republic. A recent appeal of the International Workingmen's Association gives a heart-breaking picture of the condition of Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists in Stalin's stronghold. Renewed arrests in Odessa, Tomsk, Archangel, and other parts of Russia have taken place. No charge whatever is made against the victims. Without hearing or trial they have been sent away by the "administrative process." Those whose sentences, some as high as ten years, have expired, have again been sent to isolated parts; there is no hope of liberation during the much-praised Communist experiment.

One of the tragic cases is that of Nicholai Rogdayeve, an Anarchist for years and an ardent fighter for the emancipation of the Russian people. During the reign of the Romanovs, Rogdayeve knew all the agonies meted out to politicals—prison, exile, and *katorga*. After the March revolution Rogdayeve came back to freedom and new activities. With hundreds of others of every political shade he worked untiringly—teaching, writing, speaking, and organizing the workers. He continued his labors for a time after the October revolution. Then the Bolshevik persecution began. Though Rogdayeve was well known and loved by everyone, including even Communists, he did not escape the crushing hand of the GPU. Arrest, exile, and all the other tortures the Russian politicals are made to suffer undermined his health. His giant body was gradually broken by tuberculosis, which he had contracted as a result of his treatment. He died a few months ago. What was the offense of Rogdayeve and hundreds of others? It was their steadfast adherence to their ideals, to their faith in the Russian revolution and the Russian masses. For that undying faith they went through a thousand purgatories; many of them, like Rogdayeve, were slowly done to death. Thus, Katherine Breshkovsky, at the age of ninety and blind, has just ended her days in an alien land. Maria Spiridonova, broken in health, if not in spirit, may not go abroad to seek a cure from scurvy developed in the inner Cheka prison; Stalin's sleep might be marred were she at large. And Angelica Balabonov, what about her? Not even the henchmen of Stalin have dared to charge her with having made common cause with the enemies of the revolution. In 1917 she returned from Italy to Russia, joined the Communist Party, and dedicated herself to the Russian Revolution. But eventually, when she realized the intrigue and the corruption in the Third International, when she could no longer accept the ethics of the GPU, she left Russia and the Communist Party. Ever since, Angelica Balabonov has been used as a target for villainous attacks and denunciations from Moscow and its satellites abroad. This and years of malnutrition have left her ill and stranded.

The Russian refugees are not the only rebels whose dream of a new world has been shattered. Enrico Malatesta, Anarchist, rebel, and one of the sweetest personalities in the revolutionary ranks, was also not spared the agony of the advent of fascism. Out of his great mind and his loving heart he had given lavishly over a period of sixty years to free the Italian workers and peasants. The realization of his dream was all but within reach when the riffraff of Mussolini spread like a plague over Italy, destroying everything so painfully built up by men like Malatesta, Fabri, and the other great Italian revolutionists. Bitter indeed must have been the last days of Malatesta.

Within the last year and a half hosts of Austrian and German rebels have been added to the list of radicals from Russia, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Jugoslavia, and other lesser countries. All these lands have become the graveyard of revolutionary and libertarian ideals. Few countries are left where one can still hold on to life. Indeed, nothing that the holocaust and its aftermath have brought to humanity can compare with the cruel plight of the political refugees. Yet undying are their faith and their hope in the masses. No shadow of doubt obscures their belief that the workers will wake up from their leaden sleep, that they will once more take up the battle for liberty and well-being.

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Let Us Demand a Housing Program

By ALBERT MAYER

THE present Administration has let the housing problem fade into insignificance, and in the National Housing Act has gone over to the antithesis of real housing. To clear the way for a new realistic effort to obtain housing it will be necessary first to face squarely the discouragements that have been encountered—the inexcusable delay in PWA housing, the way in which its original personnel was cavalierly dismissed without any effective protest, the lack of sincere interest in housing on the part of powerful government officials, and finally the passage of the National Housing Act, which is in direct contradiction to any sensible, useful housing program, and which cynically appropriated the word housing for a patchwork scheme of single-house renovation, new high-cost loans, and mortgage salvaging. A housing program should look forward, should start to undo the present mess in which our communities find themselves, but the present act encourages continuance, on a larger scale than ever, of the hit-or-miss speculative progress of our urban communities. For the first time speculative real-estate and building operations not only have the government's blessing, but are being begged to accept financial assistance. In the Hoover Administration they had a substantial blessing in the form of the Own-Your-Own-Home movement, but no financial assistance.

The PWA housing adventure was an abortive interlude which the government would not have undertaken had it understood the implications; it is now laboriously trying to spend the original small amount of allotted funds so as not to acknowledge failure. The allotment of $150,000,000, tucked away in a corner of a three-billion-dollar public-works program, should have warned us of the incidental character of the undertaking. Moreover, it soon became apparent that the interests opposed were much stronger and better organized than the social workers and the handful of persons interested in housing who were backing a genuine program.

The last fifteen months, however, have shown some positive gains. First, the CWA surveys made in a number of cities gathered useful facts preliminary to the preparation of housing projects. An inventory of real property was made, and a number of slum-clearance committees collected data on crime, disease, and excess city costs in slums. These surveys aroused wide interest, which continues in an unorganized way. Many persons are wondering why nothing further is done. These people are not yet effective advocates of housing, both because they are not organized and because they are not sufficiently informed, but ideas concerning the useful results of good housing have become popularized. Second, owing to the propaganda and the educational work on projects in various cities by Mr. Kohn and his staff in the PWA, a large number of architects, designers, and social and city planners have a grasp of the objects and the technique of housing. Finally, examples of housing that may eventually be built by the PWA will probably be useful for illustrative purposes, since it is difficult to arouse an active interest in housing without something specific to point to. Continuing pressure must be applied to assure that these projects proceed to completion. These things represent progress in housing when compared with the accomplishments of any previous year. But the new housing act marks a complete shift in emphasis. From the point of view of real housing, the act is not merely irrelevant but might be called definitely anti-housing. It is unlikely to succeed in any such measure as the government hopes despite the enormous fanfare in its behalf.

This "Anti-Housing Act" was conceived by the government and business to restore capital-goods industries. It was ingeniously drawn to take advantage of a hypothetically existent demand. But even in the short run it can hardly succeed, because while there is a demand for decent homes, people who have been struggling either to get out of debt or to keep out of debt are unlikely to take on new debts at high cost. In the long run it is certain to fail, because small-scale, haphazard construction of homes makes low- and medium-cost housing impossible; the result will be again overproduction for certain classes, with the lower-income group waiting for the deterioration of the new housing, then occupying it and creating new slums. Moreover, land speculation and subdivision will raise the cost of production and create new deceptive municipal tax structures. Finally, the continuation of uncoordinated irregular development means continuation of excessive city operating costs.

Large-scale, low-cost community housing would in the long run clean up this mess. In the short run it could be made to give more employment to men and to capital-goods industries, and to do this more quickly than would the Anti-Housing Act. Assuming an average individual expenditure of $5,000 for renovating or building a new house, every $2,000,000 expended would mean 400 separate contracts, separate investigations, separate title searches. But the same $2,000,000 represents only one moderate-sized, large-scale housing development, with one contract and one operation. Then why did the Administration let housing drift and plump for speculative building?

The answer is simple. Powerful, interrelated industrial, financial, and real-estate groups pushed the Anti-Housing Act, just as the same groups opposed the original housing program. The advocates of housing had cogent arguments; they made general, well-reasoned appeals to the unselfish interests of all groups and expected that all groups would more or less automatically back them. They did not appeal directly enough to any powerful group's self-interest. They used long-range arguments which were valid but which ran counter to the short-range interests of very powerful groups.

If housing is to go forward continuously on a significant scale, those groups must be mobilized to whom housing arguments make a vital short-run appeal, who are daily affected by bad housing, who need good housing, cheap housing, recreational and community facilities, but not at the expense of lower wages or lowered standards for other necessities and amenities. The Anti-Housing Act, of course, offers nothing whatever to them. But if these groups are educated to see that real housing is vital to them, they will become

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the battering ram for getting action. The other arguments —the wastes of unplanned development, chronic municipal bankruptcy—must be used to convince the secondary groups, such as city officials, housing officials, and so on. Other groups—heavy industries, building-trades unions—are not susceptible now because they look for employment and production from the present program. As soon as it appears that that program is failing, these last groups will undoubtedly follow along. Research, argument, exploration, and development of projects are parts of the campaign, because they produce something for people to see and get excited about, and when the Anti-Housing Act begins to stall, the Administration may grasp at projects that are ready to proceed.

The job now is to awaken and organize demand in specific large and powerful groups who, as consumers, need housing. Producers' groups, manufacturers, building-trades workers are only a fluctuating element of support. What they rightly want is work, and they don't care much what kind of work it is. The demand for housing must become specific, varying in detail as voiced by various consumer groups but in principle the same. There will then be an incessant bombardment of demands for housing, there will be life in the housing movement, and the Administration will take heed. The following groups should be organized to voice their demands: trade unions (A. F. of L. type); radical unions; Unemployed Councils, CWA groups, and the like; consumers' cooperatives; racial groups; locality groups; social workers; architects, engineers, city planners; building-trades workers; political parties and officials. The first six of these groups are primary spearhead groups which have consumer interest; the last four are secondary, essentially non-consumer groups which will follow along. The building-trades workers, as producers and consumers, could, if properly mobilized, take a leading part in housing. All these groups as consumers realize that they are badly housed, but they must be educated to know how to get good housing, to learn how it has been obtained in other countries.

The trade unions of the A. F. of L. type are well organized to make demands, but difficult to move to overt action except on wage and union-recognition issues. Generally, they have ample resources for the relatively minor expense of starting a housing organization and for the necessary research, publicity, and propaganda connected with it. The chief task is to convince the leaders of the compelling importance of housing, and to galvanize the rank and file into enthusiasm so that they will constantly press the leaders for action. This group has an advantage in that the trade union is an entity for building, management, and community life; it offers an alternative to government management, and is more understanding of and responsive to the needs of the people housed. This group will link up housing with social, health, and unemployment insurance, and with the maintenance of wage standards or the fluctuation of rent with wages. It has power and resources. Its demands can be met with the least violent change in the present disorganized set-up as the wages of the members are relatively less out of line with housing costs than are those of most other groups. Important steps in reaching this group have been taken by the Labor Housing Conference of Unions in Pennsylvania and New Jersey; similar beginnings are being made in New York and Boston.

Both the leaders and the rank and file of the radical unions are alive to the housing issue and understand its elements. They are articulate, they demonstrate, they parade, and they throw far more of a scare into the powers that be than their numbers warrant. At the moment they are handicapped by foreign nomenclature and tactics. But the power and number of these radical unions will grow rapidly as labor becomes disillusioned with the NRA and the New Deal. Their growth will be nourished from American sources. This increasingly indigenous make-up, combined with their present vigor, dash, and courage, should result in decisive action for what might be called radical housing.

The Unemployed Councils and the CWA unions have thrilling possibilities. They represent an enforced solidarity of interest throughout the most varied cross-section of American life—from common laborers and professional workers right through to former pillars of the middle class; in a word, the disinherited. This group is not in the position of some of the wage-earning groups who must fear that, eventually, improved housing may be paid for out of wages. The government gives them only a meager subsistence which it cannot diminish; for them it is simply a question of getting decent housing in addition. On recent foreign analogies the government has more to fear from this very large group of the disinherited than it has from any other. They cannot afford to pay for housing or for recreational facilities or for anything else, yet they are in a position to insist on getting them.

The consumers' cooperatives offer existing organizations as nuclei; their leaders and members are accustomed to thinking economic problems through, particularly the effects of maldistribution—problems closely akin to those in housing. They understand the importance of large-scale enterprise, and are experienced in administration. This group is particularly developed in certain sections of the country. The cooperative venture of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the Bronx has been outstandingly successful.

Racial or national groups tend to gravitate toward one locality with closely unified interests. It may be questioned whether this is desirable, but certainly in the case of Negroes it is a reality that is to be faced. As this external segregating pressure applies also to Negro leaders of even the highest type, there is an excellent set-up of leadership both for agitation and for administering completed projects. Since vested interests dislike the dislocation in property values which result when Negroes spread to new neighborhoods, they are likely to be less hostile to organized demand.

Those groups from substandard neighborhoods which I have called locality groups are sometimes led by the social workers operating there, sometimes by an ambitious local politician, sometimes by one of themselves. The solidarity of such groups is variable—some are cohesive, some are loosely organized, some are heavily sprinkled with local property-owners. But in individual cases these groups can be very important, particularly because they can influence local political representatives such as aldermen and assemblymen.

The social workers as a group have done valiant pioneer work and are largely responsible for the housing we already have. But this is about the limit of their usefulness, for an extraneous group not particularly powerful, cohesive, or numerous can never accomplish more than a certain amount.

Individual leaders in housing thought have up to now

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come from the group of architects, engineers, and city planners. Many of them—Henry Wright is a fine example—have faithfully and disinterestedly fought the battle. But as a group they want to be productive technicians, hence they are interested in housing only as one among various activities. Individuals among them will continue to exercise a stimulating influence, especially in thinking through the issues and the technique. In the field of action many of the enthusiastic younger men now beginning to come forward will probably cease to be mainly technicians and by reason of their technical training will become a valuable part of the important groups that will demand and eventually get housing.

The powerful, highly organized groups of building-trades workers now require employment so badly that they cannot be relied on to insist on the right kind of housing. But they are consumers of housing as well. When the Anti-Housing Act fails, they will, as producers, become convinced that only large-scale housing and city rebuilding offer a permanent pool of employment. With research pointing the way to new construction methods, they have it in their power to advance those methods that can make housing cheaper and better. As producer-consumers, building trade-union groups could start projects for themselves with fewer obstacles than any other group. Their labor constitutes a large proportion of construction cost, which gives them a point of control. The building trades as a whole would gain a great deal from experience in such projects because they would achieve an insight into administrative and coordinating problems that are now always left to building contractors and other business men, and into detailed questions of planning and use of materials which would be very valuable to them in working with, advising on, and even helping to promote projects for other union groups.

The major political parties will go only so far with housing as the pressure of powerful groups compels them to. That is the pressure that must be prepared. Locally strong political parties like the Farmer-Labor Party and the Progressive bloc in Congress are sensitive to the demand of the groups we have discussed because these groups form their support. The Socialist Party and the various Communist parties are alive to the necessity of housing. They are useful in keeping the demand for housing before the public. While in our American set-up they are not now in a position to achieve results directly, the indirect effects of their agitation are important.

The items of a good housing program do not need restating here. A satisfactory theory of housing has not been lacking. Nor has housing been hindered by a lack of technical competence or knowledge, though the government has tried to make it appear so. Housing has been delayed because we have failed to arouse the people who need housing. That is the chief task now ahead of us. The other task is to fill in the outlines of the program. The main features are clear, but there is no one kind of ideal housing which will fit all needs. The essence of a vital program is that it respond to the particular needs of each group that requires it. Each group will agitate for the kind of housing best suited to it. The demand must be specific, from a definite legislative program down to specific housing projects, and must be vigorously pushed, not by people who are unselfishly trying to obtain it for others, but by people who need housing themselves, who want it, and who mean to get it.

So This Is Bureaucracy!

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

Washington, October 1

THIS month marks the completion of the deal by which the Knoxville district receives cheap electricity from the Tennessee Valley Authority. Little Tupelo, Mississippi, was the first town to have TVA current. The Knoxville district, with a population of about 125,000, will be the first large area so supplied. Altogether eleven contracts to supply current have already been made by the TVA with municipalities. Applications for contracts number more than 300, some of them from districts too far away to be served.

The Knoxville deal is of first importance, both to the TVA and to the country as a whole. It establishes a precedent for federal power projects generally. The consumer receives current at rates not duplicated by any private utility. In Knoxville the reduction in the rates for a use of 240 kilowatt hours a month is 34.1 per cent. Even over the "promotional rates" offered by the private company when met with the threat of municipal competition, the saving to consumers is 16.4 per cent. The TVA rates in Knoxville include a 10 per cent surcharge which in ten years will pay off all the debt incurred in buying out the private company's facilities. Knoxville will have its distributional system free of debt and interest; at the same time it will buy current at well below the cheapest rate ever offered by the private utility.

The bond-holders of the National Power and Light Company, owners of the Tennessee Public Service Company, get back the issue price of the bonds, 96½. The preferred stockholders retain $3,300,000 in cash and liquid assets, as well as a street railway in Knoxville with a book value of $4,042,000, now to be helped to operate profitably. The common stock representing no investment whatever is not recognized in the transaction.

One night in 1930, after the depression was well under way, the company wrote up its books by over $4,500,000 and issued common stock on this write-up. In four years of the depression the Knoxville district paid $846,000 in dividends on such common stock representing no investment. At the same time it paid an 8 per cent return on the street-railway company, which was running at a loss.

In the Knoxville deal the TVA is now paying dollar for dollar of the real value of the property it takes over, and so lays down the principle which one assumes will be followed in the nation-wide electrification schemes of the New Deal. The Knoxville facilities of the company might have been replaced at less cost than the purchase price. But the TVA went the whole way to meet the claim of the owners of private property to honest treatment. The committee of

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bond-holders which had to examine the TVA offer admitted they were treated fairly. The treatment appears all the fairer in the light of the circumstances. Knoxville was scheduled to receive a PWA loan to build its own distributional system in competition with the Tennessee Public Service Company. Had it been built, the private company would have faced ruin. No doubt this threat made successful negotiations possible, but it was not used to condemn the property at a sacrifice.

In the negotiations one saw the New Deal face to face with big business. It was no local transaction. The holding company was in New York. The chairman of the bondholders' committee was chairman of the Public Utilities Securities Committee of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks. Institutions represented on the committee included the Equitable Life Assurance Society, the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company, the Washington Trust Company of Westerly, Rhode Island, the Columbian National Life Insurance Company, and the New Hampshire Savings Bank.

This is an old story by now, but it is worth repeating. Big business justifies its opposition to the New Deal by citing such projects as the TVA. "Capital is afraid to put itself at risk," writes the *Wall Street Journal*, discussing my recent article on the strike of capital, "not because it fears that the state may interfere to limit or regulate its profits, but because it knows that the state can destroy it if it has a mind to do so. It has seen the state—in this case the federal government—engage in the duplication of privately owned plants. That is the potential, if not the actual, destruction of capital."

In a sense duplication of plant is inherent in all the power projects of the government, since the country already has a power supply. Yet the Knoxville deal is neither the potential nor the actual destruction of capital. It is the destruction of watered stock, quite another matter.

The TVA is a bureaucracy. The common supposition is that bureaucracies are slow to move, awkward in action, uninspired by inventiveness. The construction of the Norris and Joe Wheeler dams of the TVA are well ahead of schedule, and will be finished in 1936. They are already one-third completed, a little over a year after the creation of the Authority. The model town of Norris, near the Norris Dam, is more than three-fourths built, after careful attention to architecture, town planning, and other requirements of permanence. Cheap electricity is already being sold in the Tennessee Valley; what is more, a subsidiary of the TVA has induced manufacturers of electric appliances to make simple, cheap, standardized models for use in the district, so that these cost less to the consumer, yet greatly increase the volume of sales. A useful electric refrigerator, shorn of some of its gadgets, is to be bought for $79. It can be bought on the instalment plan, financed by this subsidiary at just over 5 per cent interest. The subsidiary is the EHFA (Electric Home and Farm Authority), and it is making business for private electrical manufacturers. At the same time cheap rates make it possible in Tupelo to operate an electric refrigerator, electric range, and electric hot-water heater on about $7 a month for current.

The bureaucracy known as the TVA is manned by a staff with a spirit not to be found in any private enterprise I ever heard of. Relations between employer and employee produce a team spirit which would be the envy of any corporation. More than that, employment includes the opportunity for education and training, so that men now working, for instance, on the Norris Dam are being fitted for permanent usefulness and economic value when the dam is finished.

Those who visit Tennessee and those who visit the great construction centers in Russia remark the same thing—the astonishing enthusiasm of the people on the job. What creates this enthusiasm in both communities is the same. It is the sense of doing something constructive and creative, for the common good. This is not the profit motive, supposed to be the only one which can keep the world going. It is the service motive, and in the Tennessee Valley it is already producing results better in every way than those to be had from the profit motive.

The TVA, admittedly, is no ordinary bureaucracy. Its functions are not simply defined. It can be taken as being merely a federal power project, utilizing the Muscle Shoals Dam and building other dams with the immediate objective of supplying electric current in the valley at rates unobtainable from private enterprise. In this perspective it links up with the five other major federal projects in other parts of the country. These are the Grand Coulee and Bonneville dams of the Columbia River basin, Boulder Dam on the Colorado River, Fort Peck Dam on the Missouri River in Montana, and the Casper-Alcova Dam in Wyoming. The total cost of the six has already been allocated and will be $230,000,000. Looking still farther, these six projects will be fitted into a still greater picture to include the St. Lawrence power project. Congress will be asked this winter once more to ratify the treaty which makes the public exploitation of the St. Lawrence River more possible. This time the issue should be clear enough for Congress to respond. When these projects are finished, the supply of cheap electricity to the homes of America, whether urban or rural, will be assured, and America will be on the way to an all-electrified material life. (I shun the word civilization, not wishing to describe civilization in terms of refrigerators and hot water.)

Within the bounds of its immediate objective the TVA looms impressively. It is sure to accomplish much in its own district, and as the valley has an area two-thirds the size of Great Britain, the project is a major one, by any measure. It becomes an intrinsic part of something still greater and more fundamental as part of a vast continental scheme.

The TVA is also an experiment in planned economy. The Tennessee Valley is to be transformed not by a cheap power rate but by human schemes in which cheap power plays a part. The valley one day is to be a vast community of decentralized industries. Workers will live a divided life between the factory and the small farm. After the building of Norris, one imagines scores of such villages coming to life, laid out for loveliness as well as cheap rents, supplied with comforts, with farm gardens where vegetables will be grown which the hapless Tennessee farmer now does not know. The farm gardeners will work in factories for their cash, or, put the other way, factory workers will farm part of each day for some of their daily food.

If it were not for the present low standard of life in the Tennessee Valley, such a final development might warrant closer examination to make sure it is not part of a de-

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vice to give private industry contented cheap labor. But in a district where most farm families do not see more than $85 in cash a year, the outlook of a fair industrial wage supplemented by profuse kitchen gardens, and of a life in electrified communities with organized social activity and improved educational facilities, is above suspicion. Whether the Tennessee Valley development, once realized, would be a desirable model for the entire nation is an issue which does not need to be faced at present.

The immediate picture is enough to be grateful for. Knoxville throws off the embarrassing clutches of the utility company which has made the sale of electricity the pretense for dipping into its customers' pockets for unearned funds. The city now will own its own distributional system, and pay for it out of rates far below what it ever paid before. And the whole region affected directly or indirectly by the TVA can rejoice over a voluntary reduction in recent months of power rates by private utility companies amounting to $16,000,000 a year. This figure, compiled by the Scripps-Howard newspapers, is the saving to consumers in the eleven States from which the TVA has received applications for contracts. The reduction in five years will equal the sum already allocated to the TVA.

[*Mr. Swing contributes a regular weekly letter from Washington.*]

In the Driftway

THE Drifter has just received a rebuke, and although it is an anonymous contribution and by all the traditions of good newspaper and magazine offices he should severely throw it on the floor—the wastebasket being by the same traditions already full—he is willing to pass it on to such of his readers as feel that he has merited the censure.

> Your column on white, brown, and rye bread (advt.) touched upon a subject of great importance, but, being the Drifter that you are, you held back consciously or unconsciously from following the bread line to its logical and ultimate conclusions.
>
> Articles of diet are more responsible for reforms and changes in this world than most men dream of. I shall refrain from expatiating on the obvious proof of this statement, pointing out merely that total lack of diet has caused many a revolution, the French one not among the least.
>
> I knew a Communist at one time who, although he did not belong to the party, was the most radical person I ever knew. One night when we were sitting Gandhi-fashion in front of his open fire (he refused, as much as possible, to have anything to do with civilization), he told me how he had stumbled on his beliefs. He was a happy-go-lucky young American with an abundance of dollars in his pocket and a scarcity of sense in his head until one day he ate a few hot dogs. The next day he lay in bed complaining of acute appendicitis, cancer, heart trouble, and all the other diseases he had ever heard of. The doctor, however, prescribed a simple purge and warned him that if he did not want to go to, he had better stay away from, the dogs. This revolution in his digestion was the cause of an even greater and more drastic revolution in his mind.
>
> He began to ask himself why, if hot dogs were so injurious, the government allowed them to be made. Questions led to answers which were subversive to the existing order of things. Just as white bread sold in loaves already sliced could only be a product of a capitalistic civilization, so with hot dogs. Hot dogs led to capitalistic dogs, and soon he became so revolutionary that he advocated hounding everything which represented civilization off the face of the earth.

* * * * *

SO far, of course, the communication sounds merely like a friendly elaboration of the Drifter's thesis about the decline of bread. But toward the end it takes a sterner tone. A preoccupation with a subject like bread is, it seems, unworthy of the Drifter, and is an indication of his laziness of mind. And to make the Drifter's dereliction perfectly clear, the anonymous writer signed his letter: "From one who cannot understand how it is possible to drift in these modern days when all the streams have become swollen to raging torrents." The Drifter is willing to take his scolding meekly. All roads lead to Rome; and if you are not going to Rome, you had far better stay at home with the shades drawn and keep your mouth shut. Well, he will do it on one condition —that his anonymous correspondent guarantee to supply him with Significant Thoughts once a week out of which to make a suitably Roman Driftway. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Loyalty Oath

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

There must be no cessation of protests on the part of sincere opponents of war and fascism against the law requiring the loyalty oath of teachers which was recently passed by the legislature. The oath requires teachers to swear to support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of New York, and also that "I will faithfully discharge . . . the duties of the position of . . . to which I am now assigned."

The menace contained in this seemingly innocent oath is clear from two conditions present today. In the rapid and widespread preparations for war in this country, this oath is an instrument for regimenting the teaching staffs (private schools are included) and for tuning up the schools to echo the propaganda for war which is appearing daily in the reactionary press. That its greatest support came from the Hearst papers is ample proof of the primary intention of the loyalty oath. By means of it those teachers who honestly oppose war will be muzzled, and those who feel it their duty to the children to expose war propaganda in the schools, as such, will be charged with violating their oath to "faithfully discharge . . . the duties of the position of . . . to which I am now assigned."

It is significant that the loyalty oath received public support from the New York Superintendent of Schools, whose budget for the next year continues the economies which have been made for the last two years at the expense of both children and teachers. This budget carries on the policy of overcrowding classes, of ignoring the fifteen thousand unemployed teachers, and of taking no notice of the effect of five years of crisis on the health and well-being of the children. There is reason to believe that the bankers will call for another wage cut for teachers. This means, clearly, that teachers will have to organize for a vigorous fight if they are to preserve their own living standards as well as defend the welfare of the children in their

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charge. And this means that militant teachers are going to face the menace of the oath and its charge of disloyalty whenever they oppose the policies of the bankers and the Board of Education.

When the loyalty oath was first introduced as a bill at the last regular session of the legislature, it was opposed vigorously by such organizations as the National Education Association, the Public Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the Unemployed Teachers' Association, the Teachers' Union, the Classroom Teachers Groups, the Citizens' Union, the Bar Association of New York City, the United Parents' Association, and other teacher, civic, labor, and parent organizations. Its quick introduction and passage during this last summer's special session prevented expression of opposition from all but one or two of these organizations. Perhaps this explains the haste with which so vital a measure was passed without even so much as a public hearing. Protests must continue to the New York Board of Education against its use as an instrument of repression and intimidation of militant teachers, and to Governor Lehman as well, urging him to have it rescinded at the next legislative session.

New York, September 5 BLANCHE HOFRICHTER,
Chairman, Classroom Teachers Groups

Bankers and Money Changers

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

A year ago Herbert E. Gaston, deputy governor of the Farm Credit Administration, replying to my letter addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, in which I had asked for advice regarding the proper procedure looking to the securing of a mortgage loan on land in Gloucester County, New Jersey, inclosed "Circular No. 1," in which are set forth the provisions of the legislation described as "The Emergency Farm Mortgage Act" (signed by President Roosevelt on May 12, 1933). His accompanying letter simply told me to obtain from the Federal Land Bank of Springfield, Massachusetts, "detailed information and application blanks." The assistant secretary of this land bank, H. F. Johnson, after several days' cogitation, demanded "complete information" concerning the security offered, the purpose of the loan, amount of indebtedness, description of livestock and buildings, and so forth. In conclusion he said: "After receiving this information, if the bank feels that a loan could be considered, a formal application blank will be forwarded you to be filled out."

When Mr. Johnson acknowledged receipt of this information a week later, he said he had thought the farm was in Bergen County. In my first letter of inquiry I had explained to Secretary Ickes that the land in question was in Gloucester County. This letter was forwarded to Mr. Gaston, who, of course, forwarded it to the land bank as in duty bound to do. This Springfield, Massachusetts, land bank never lends any money on a farm unless its owner possesses large resources in addition to the value of his farm equity.

The final letter from the land bank, which reached the loan applicant a month subsequent to the date on which he opened negotiations, required him to make his application to the "Landis N. F. L. A." (National Farm Loan Association) in the town of Vineland in south New Jersey. He had to apply personally and could ill afford the expense. He lived in Bergen County. The bank expressed sorrow for its delay, which it called a "misunderstanding."

Mr. Waxman, who handled the business of the Landis N. F. L. A., told the applicant honestly that he knew by experience that the land bank would not lend him any money. He said, "You can make the application if you wish but it will cost you $20." This was a crushing surprise to the applicant because it had appeared from the emergency law and from the land-bank letters, that an N. F. L. A. agreement was binding on the money-lending powers. Mr. Waxman's frankness made him decide not to throw away his $20 without an authoritative opinion regarding his rights. I thereupon requested such opinion from Mr. Gaston and sent a copy of the inquiring letter to Mr. Slattery (the latter had replied to my first letter. He is in the office of Secretary Ickes).

Mr. Gaston's reply was full of platitudes and contained nothing responsive to my questions. The last lines of the letter said: "I am, however, forwarding your letter to the Federal Land Bank of Springfield for attention." These lines caused the applicant and myself to think—as I now see it was designed to do—that the bank, with the help of the FCA, would decide to "change its tune." Another letter came nineteen days later from Mr. Gaston's assistant, Horace A. Lake, saying, "Information is being requested from the . . . bank, and upon receipt of a reply we shall write you further." Since I had sent to Mr. Gaston copies of tax letters which showed how imminent was the seizure, by the tax-sale buyer, of the land in question, he (Mr. Gaston) was aware that action must be prompt if the land was to be saved for its owner, but no further communication or explanation came from the land bank or from Messrs. Gaston and Lake.

The FCA empowered the Land Bank Commissioner, Albert S. Goss, to make loans to refinance any indebtedness, et cetera, so on November 30, 1933, we applied for a loan of $1,000 to pay the taxes and for moving. This $1,000 loan is described on page 13 of FCA Circular No. 1 and is a "loan from the Land Bank Commissioner" not from the Springfield, Massachusetts, Land Bank. A full history of our negotiations with the FCA, the land bank, the tax officials, and the alleged tax buyer accompanied the application.

The reply came from F. D. Van Sant on December 23, 1933. He is "Assistant Deputy Commissioner Land Bank Division." He defended the conduct of the bank and Mr. Gaston regarding our former application of August, 1933. He conveyed the idea that the $1,000 would be forthcoming and said the Springfield, Massachusetts, Land Bank acted as agent for Mr. Goss. The emergency law does *not* say so. I reported to Mr. Van Sant the refusal of the tax buyer and collector to state just when the redemption period expired but told him that it was said to be "in March, 1934"; some days later I again wrote Mr. Van Sant giving him the names and addresses of such tax buyer and collector and requesting that he prevent seizure of the land while Mr. Goss's loan was pending. He replied that we had until early in April and that it was unnecessary to communicate with the tax officials.

On March 20, 1934, came a telegram demanding telephone conversation with one S. R. Bateman of Blackwood, New Jersey, who said by phone that we must call at his office next day, March 21, to give him facts about the land, and he intimated that the loan would be granted. We had to wait for him at his office on March 21 despite his promise that he would be in all day and then he searched among his papers for a land-bank letter of instructions but did not produce it. He then said that this letter had stated that the time for the redempion of the land expired on March 23, 1934. He wasted our time explaining the land bank's action regarding the application of August, 1933. He was ignorant of the new application to the Land Bank Commissioner, made in November, 1933. We showed him the letters of Van Sant et al., which surprised him. He said the land bank had not mentioned the application to Commissioner Goss.

On March 21 we explained fully to Mr. Bateman the applicant's honesty, resources, and farming experience and gave him the names and addresses of his references and showed him the covenants in the emergency law. He replied that he would

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report his belief that the $1,000 loan ought to be granted. He said we would hear from the bank very soon. Sixteen days later came a letter from F. D. Van Sant saying the Federal Land Bank of Springfield could not make the desired loan. The rest of the letter was contradictory and false. There was no "investigation of facts." The only "investigator" was the bank's puppet, who did not even know that part of the land was being farmed by the man who had taken possession of it. In this case where I conducted the negotiations the loan applicant was made to spend his money on fruitless journeys and long-distance telephone calls and he was kept waiting for an answer for eight months. Had he been given a refusal in August, 1933, he would have had the satisfaction of selling to a decent person before the tax sharks seized the land as they claim to have done. The emergency legislation for farmers enabled the land banks and the commissioner really to help farmers, but the banks treated the law as though it was what Pope called "the farce of state."

Rutherford, N. J., September 1 MARY E. LIVESEY

A Tribute to Mary Austin

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

As a feminist, though one of those judged rather harshly by Mary Austin in her autobiography "Earth Horizon"—my perhaps well-deserved punishment for fleeing from the severities of her rule in lodgings we once shared in a Surrey village—may I add a few words to your penetrating editorial on her personality and work?

Through many adventures after the Surrey incident, in London, New York, Washington, Carmel, and Santa Fé, she showed her deep and unselfish devotion to the cause of women. She collaborated with me on a pamphlet for the Nevada suffrage campaign; she planned the pageant of the National Woman's Party on the east steps of the Capitol for the reception of the suffrage envoys from the West by members of the Senate and House in 1916; we spoke often from the same platform for the national suffrage amendment; on an autumn drive together through the valley of the Rio Grande she completed the lines of her lovely poem "Campo Santo at San Juan," a poem that reveals her feeling for all women.

Her feminism was active and creative. But even if she had never opened her lips for the cause, her achievement as a naturalist and anthropologist, as an original and intuitive explorer into the depths of the subconscious—as a mystic, if you will—as interpreter of the Indian, of the land, of man in his environment, as a profound and versatile woman of letters undoubtedly places her in the first rank not as woman but as human being.

Her life and work, like that of Jane Addams and Madame Curie and countless lesser women who are going forth into the unknown and are holding their own in fields formerly monopolized by men, validate the rights of women the world over.

Denver, August 30 ANNE MARTIN

The Church and the Movies

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

James Rorty and *The Nation* seem to be in danger of mental collapse over the campaigns against the movies. The big battery against church groups who wish any sort of change in our social order which is not to the liking of the "proponents of freedom" is always at hand. It is necessary only to talk about "these blue-nosed reformers" in the churches who are the concentrated Mrs. Grundys of the world and the battle is practically won. The implications of both Mr. Rorty and *The*

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SEX TECHNIQUE IN MARRIAGE

By ISABEL EMSLIE HUTTON, M.B., Ch.B., M.D.
Physician to the British Hospital for Functional Mental and Nervous Diseases, London

Foreword by IRA S. WILE, M.D.
Former Commissioner of Education, New York City

CONDENSED RESUMÉ

PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE
THE SEX ORGANS OF MEN; OF WOMEN
SEX INSTINCT IN MEN; IN WOMEN
ANALYSIS OF SEX INTERCOURSE
THE TECHNIQUE OF THE SEX-ACT
PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS
THE FIRST SEX-ACT
ADJUSTMENT TO SEX LIFE; DIFFICULTIES; MUTUAL CONSIDERATION
FREQUENCY OF INTERCOURSE
POSITIONS IN PERFORMING THE SEX-ACT
INFLUENCE OF AGE, SEX INSTINCT, HEALTH
SEX INTERCOURSE DURING PREGNANCY; AFTER CHILD BIRTH
INABILITY TO PERFORM SEXUALLY
MENSTRUATION AND THE "CHANGE OF LIFE"
CURABLE CHILDLESSNESS
THE VALUE OF BIRTH CONTROL

FIVE DIAGRAMS

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MALE AND FEMALE REPRODUCTIVE CELLS

Authoritative Comment

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—Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin.

* The membership of the A.M.A. consists of approximately 100,000 physicians.

INTERNATIONAL ACCLAIM

Below are a few of scores of publications, lay and medical, that have prsised SEX TECHNIQUE: Journal of the American Medical Association; Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin; The Lancet (London); American Journal of Psychiatry; Japan Medical World; American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology; Indian Medical Gazette; American Journal of Nursing; Irish Journal of Medical Science; Cleveland Press; Canadian Practitioner; San Francisco News; Medical Journal of Australia; Cincinnati Inquirer; Scottish Health; Providence Journal; Parents Magazine; Medical Times; British Medical Journal; Journal of Neurology and Psychopathology; King's College Magazine; Public Health (London); Eugenics Review (London); Middlesex Hospital Journal; London Hospital Gazette, etc., etc.

"Sexual pleasure, wisely used, may prove the stimulus and liberator of our finest and most exalted activities."
—*Havelock Ellis.*

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Nation—not to mention all the other special writers who, with the subsidized movie press, have rushed to the recue of poor dear Hollywood—are that church people are all blue-noses, that they are really out for censorship, that they are woefully shocked if anyone says damn or reveals more of the anatomy than an ankle. All of which is what Al Smith could readily and effectively tag.

Church people by and large—and there may still be found a few people in the churches who possess some modicum of education and culture, even in reference to the drama—are fed up with pictures made for Lizzie the thirteen-year-old. Being themselves almost fourteen years old and having, therefore, better intelligence and training than Lizzie, they would like the privilege of going to the movies without having their intelligence insulted night after night. Furthermore, church people for many years were asinine enough to fall for Mr. Hays's pious remarks, in speeches before church groups and women's clubs. At last they have Will's number written inside their hats. The *Churchman* for more than two years, beginning in 1929, carried on a crusade against the Hays methods of bamboozling the public. It exposed the fact that the Hays organization was paying retainers to Dr. Charles Macfarland, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, under cover, and to Mrs. Jeannette Emrich of the same organization. They both resigned from the council. It revealed the fact that Dr. Charles Stelzle, having built up a reputation as press agent for certain social-welfare and similar organizations, including the Federal Council, tried to pull a fast one on editors of the religious press by announcing that he would send to them a series of blind releases—paid for by the Hays office and planned to spike the *Churchman* crusade. The one release ever mailed was printed, by a sweet bit of irony, only in the *Churchman*—along with the exposé! Releases from the *Churchman* were going to 900 newspapers a week. Mr. Hays's office was flooded with clippings. The Czar liked it all so little that he had his lawyers threaten the paper with both criminal and civil libel proceedings if it didn't retract and promise to be good—neither of which it saw fit to do.

All of these things I recite only to indicate that there is a good deal more behind this movie upheaval than appears on the immediate horizon. Church people are not all quite the "softies" that our noted writers wish to make them out. The *Churchman* has always opposed censorship in all fields and always will. So do the majority of church people. We'll back *The Nation*, Mr. Rorty, and all others in that fight, anywhere and any time.

New York, September 15 GUY EMERY SHIPLER,
Editor, the *Churchman*

Next Week

THE FALL BOOK NUMBER

of The Nation

Articles and Reviews by

Joseph Wood Krutch, William Troy, Ludwig Lewisohn, H. L. Mencken, Carl Van Doren, Harry Elmer Barnes, Agnes Smedley, Arthur Livingston, Oswald Garrison Villard, Kenneth Burke, Reinhold Niebuhr, Lewis Corey, Dorothy Van Doren, Lionel Abel, Eda Lou Walton, Broadus Mitchell, and Others.

Wish-Reporting

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I'm afraid Lew Levenson must have got some of his items for his California Casualty List in *The Nation* of August 29 from the Los Angeles *Times*. When he states that "Chester Williams, executive head of the International Labor Defense, was warned to leave San Diego after a speech before the Hammer Club," he errs at two points. I have no official connection with the I. L. D., and I don't think I was exactly warned to leave town.

The 250 veterans at this Hammer Club luncheon listened patiently to an address on civil liberties, and asked many questions. During the question period a legionnaire named Pardy made this remark: "I think we were wrong to cheer this man. He is a radical, and a damn clever radical. I'm in favor of giving him safe conduct to the door and telling him not to come back." Major Macaulay, the chairman, apologized for this rude suggestion, assured me that I was to be accorded the courtesies given guest speakers, and took care of my luncheon check. I did not consider that a warning to leave town. It was just the frothing at the mouth of a legionnaire who feared that my recitation of American history had misled the brethren. The Los Angeles *Times* headline, "Williams Near Bums' Rush" was the usual wish-reporting for which that publication is justly famous.

San Francisco, Cal., September 10 CHESTER WILLIAMS

Contributors to This Issue

EMMA GOLDMAN was exiled from the United States after the war, but was permitted by the immigration authorities to return last winter for a brief visit. Her autobiography appeared in 1931 under the title "Living My Life."

ALBERT MAYER has acted as consultant in housing design for various governmental agencies.

MARY W. HILLYER is on the staff of the League for Industrial Democracy.

RICHARD B. GREGG lived for a number of years in India as a member of the Gandhi colony. He is bringing out a new book this month, "The Power of Non-Violence."

EDA LOU WALTON, associate professor of English at Washington Square College, New York University, is the author of "Jane Matthew and Other Poems."

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Labor and Industry

A Report on the Industrial Association

WE print here the essential sections of the reports of an investigation of the files of the Industrial Association of San Francisco pertaining to documents called Strike Violence Memos 301 and 306, reproduced in *The Nation* of August 29, 1934, which seemed to indicate a connection between the association and the police raids on radical organizations during the general strike. The investigation was made by Chester S. Williams and Ernest Besig of the Northern California Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, with the advice and cooperation of Austin Lewis, chief counsel of the Union.

Report I

At a conference at the offices of the Industrial Association attended by Messrs. Boynton, Carr, Carmody, Persons, Lewis, Williams, and Besig, with Miss Cutten acting as stenographer, Mr. Boynton in a preliminary statement made the following points: Early in June a special department was set up to collect information from such places as the police stations and emergency hospitals, from radio reports of the police, and general facts of importance or interest to the Industrial Association. Mr. James K. Carr, long in the employ of the association as director of the American Plan Promotion, was put in charge of this special department. He hired some young men to help him. Mr. Boynton referred us to Mr. Carr's report to him and to the files to clear up the points raised by Reports 301 and 306.

Mr. Lewis asked why the Industrial Association should spend time and money helping the newspapers do their job? Mr. Boynton answered that they wanted the papers to get all the strike-violence news possible, and that they wanted a lot of such information direct and quick.

Mr. Williams asked if the rumor was true that Lieutenant Malloy of the radical squad attended any meetings of the association officers? Mr. Boynton denied the rumor and said that the police had only come to them to check up stories that the association had "sluggers" riding around town and such matters.

Mr. Lewis asked what interest the association had in Communists and political groups, and Mr. Boynton gave it as his personal view that the radicals and Communists were preventing a settlement and stirring the thing up for their own ends. He said that Ryan told him that Bridges was a Communist and didn't want to see the strike settled. Mr. Boynton described how the association hired about 200 workers and imported them from Los Angeles to move cargo from the waterfront to the warehouses. When asked how he would receive an investigation into the causes of and responsibility for the raids, he said that the Industrial Association was innocent of any connection and would be pleased to see them investigated. The Industrial Association couldn't give any facts or assistance. He gave it as his opinion that the raids were started and pushed by union men, teamsters, because of opposition to the radical elements trying to disrupt their unions. . . .

Mr. Boynton gave us copies of bulletins dealing with radical movements published by the association for wide distribution.

[Signed] Austin Lewis
Chester Williams

Report II

Subject: Industrial Association's Strike Violence Memos 301 and 306.

1. "Strike Violence Memo" is the heading given to a series of reports made by James K. Carr to his chief, Managing Director Boynton, and other members of the staff of the Industrial Association, some of which were sent to the city editors of the daily newspapers and to the press rooms. . . . It is true that most of these reports record facts or data which were at the time "a matter of public record." It is not true that they contained nothing "which could not have been obtained by any private citizen of San Francisco." (See copy of Reports 286 and 287 listed as Exhibit 2.) The use of these reports is probably correctly stated. There is no evidence to the contrary, but it is impossible merely by inspecting them to reach the conclusion that only the uses stated were made of the reports.

2. Carr, the typed signature on Report 306, page 4, is the name of an official in the Industrial Association, James K. Carr, in charge of the American Plan Promotion. The task of this official in ordinary times is to promote the hiring of non-union workers wherever possible in order to protect the open-shop policy. He has been with the association since its organization in 1921. He was assigned the task of "collecting information on the strike," particularly that pertaining to violence. It is clearly demonstrated that Carr refers to James K. Carr and not to anyone else. As disclosed by a complete inspection of the file, the same typed name appears on all the 360 reports with the single exception of 301.

3. These documents are admitted to be authentic originals of the Strike Violence Memos with this exception: the hand-printed "P" before the typed name "Carr" does not appear on the original, and there is no explanation for this difference and no reasonable explanation of its appearance on the copy secured as basis for the photostats.

[Signed] Chester Williams
Ernest Besig

Report III

Subject: Mr. Boynton's telegram to *The Nation* dated August 25, 1934. Mr. Boynton's specific denials of charges are quoted and answered below:

1. Quote: ". . . information we obtained from police records after . . . arrests in Communist raids were made and entered in public records. . . ." As it pertains to Reports 301 and 306 this is correct as far as the records show. Everything points to the reasonableness of the hypothesis that these reports are records after the event, taken from records open to the public.

2. Quote: "No one in this association had any previous knowledge or connection with any of the arrests or with either the police or unauthorized raids on Communist quarters." This is not true. Exhibit 2 shows that the officials of the Industrial Association had "confidential" information before the raids were made as to the time and places of raids to be conducted.

3. Quote: "Our reports were simply news reports gathered from official records by newsmen posted at subsidiary police stations and public emergency hospitals in strike area." Further elaboration of sources of the information appears in Mr. Carr's statement, listed as Exhibit 1. In several cases the reports gave special "tips" secured by the reporters operating under the directions of Mr. Carr. One reporter was stationed at one time on top of a building in the strike zone with field glasses to observe and report. Report 132, listed as Exhibit 4, illustrates further how these reporters used other than official records and served their office with pertinent information not of news value. Very few of the 360 reports were "simply news reports." The

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file contained all sorts of information, and a number of the reports referred to matters not dealing with police or hospital records. It may be noted in this connection that the "newsmen" employed by the Industrial Association were not newspapermen. Carr states that the qualifications he sought in the men he hired were quick thinking, fast moving, willingness to work, and reliability. He did not seek experienced newspaper reporters, and the men we interviewed were not such reporters. One claimed to be a civil engineer; another described himself as a credit and collection man. The other two employed for this work were not interviewed.

4. Quote: "We demand that *The Nation* retract its conclusions and implications in regard to the Industrial Association of San Francisco and Albert E. Boynton its managing director manifest in this article." Mr. Boynton stated to us several times that he did not expect that *The Nation* would retract its statements, and on the third day expressed a desire to drop the matter entirely. When asked for photostatic copies of other reports, Mr. Boynton said: "I'd rather drop the matter here than to involve us in further implications and open up a new angle of investigation."

5. Quote: "You are welcome through any authorized agent to inspect our full files of these reports, and we think it only a matter of justice that you should investigate through the many sources available to you the truth and fact of such statements before you publish them." "Inspect" was accorded a very literal interpretation. We felt no hesitancy in taking notes on reports that seemed to bear on our investigation. Nothing was said about this, although Mr. Boynton later disclosed that he understood that there was an agreement that nothing should be copied. At my request Mr. Boynton agreed to have certain of the 360 reports photostated to assure complete accuracy. Later he explained that they were not going to give us photostatic copies of these reports because they might be used in other ways than merely submission to *The Nation* magazine. He noted the fact that I was also employed by the Civil Liberties Union, and that these documents might be used by that organization in some general investigation. This was objectionable to him. He made it clear that the Industrial Association did not care to give any information or open any of its files to a general investigation of the facts involved in the strike situation. He said that they would consider a direct request for photostatic copies from *The Nation*.*

[Signed] Chester Williams

Report IV

Subject: Sequence relating to the "raid" on Upton Sinclair headquarters and the attack on the *Western Worker* office.

1. According to Reports 296 for July 17 and 300 for the same date, listed as Exhibit 5, the Upton Sinclair headquarters on Haight Street were raided at about the same time as the *Western Worker* headquarters located at 121 Haight Street. The curious thing about this is that the Sinclair headquarters were not raided, according to Shearon Bonner, the secretary. These two reports were given about an hour apart. It is our impression that there is another report which refers to these two incidents before the events. But we were not able to check this as we had hoped to be able to do. The fact, however, remains that the reporter informing Mr. Carr *twice reported a raid* on the Sinclair headquarters which in fact never occurred. The raid on the *Western Worker* office at 121 Haight Street did take place at 1 p. m., and the story crediting striking teamsters with the raid was played up in the afternoon newspaper headlines and news stories. We have not been able to check the source of this story in the press, and doubt that an accurate check could be made. . . . The officials of the teamsters' union have denied through the *Labor Clarion* having anything to do with it.

The foregoing statements are pertinent in a sequence which may or may not be interpreted as significant.

2. On July 19 Captain January, who is connected with the New Economic Group and who is known at the Sinclair headquarters, wrote a letter to Chief of Police Quinn warning him about a rumor that plans were being made to plant "subversive" literature in the Sinclair headquarters and then stage a raid. On July 27 Shearon Bonner sent a further letter on this matter, which is listed as Exhibit 6. The reply of Chief Quinn, dated August 10, entered as Exhibit 7, points out that "you need have no fear that we will interfere with any of your campaign headquarters, as this department makes arrests and raids only at those places where we are positive that organizations have been formed for the purpose of overthrowing the United States government."

3. At 10:31, July 17, the "confidential" report from the Harbor Police Station, Exhibit 2, announced that "all Communist halls and agitators' gathering places" would be raided by the police.

4. At 3:21 p. m. of the same day the Carr newsman sent word from the Harbor Police Station that no police were in the crowd storming Communist headquarters at 37 Grove Street, 121 Haight Street (*Western Worker* office), and the Upton Sinclair headquarters. At 3:21 the police said that "these raids were by indignant citizens." (See Exhibit 5.)

5. At 4:30 the newsman reported that teamsters raided the Communist office at 1223 Filmore Street, that there was a "disturbance" at the *Western Worker* office and "also an attack" on the Sinclair headquarters.

[Signed] Chester Williams
Ernest Besig

Report V summarizes interviews with the reporters hired by the Industrial Association. One paragraph reads in part as follows:

> Unlike the other reporters, he stated that he had known of the raids in advance; that he knew on Tuesday that raids would be conducted on bloody Thursday [July 5]; that special preparations had been made by the police . . .; that he was the only reporter at the station [to which he had been assigned] who had the information and that he had passed it on to the other reporters; . . . he left us with the statement that of course we knew why the Industrial Association was collecting the news. He also stated that he had often accompanied the police in their squad cars. In his opinion, and to his knowledge, the union men did not participate in the raids; he claims that the police and citizens disgruntled at the general strike were responsible.

Exhibits

Exhibit 1 is a letter from James K. Carr describing what is stated at length in Report II. One paragraph indicates the elaborate arrangements that were made for the preparations of what Mr. Boynton called "simply news reports."

> An office was secured, . . . telephones and a short-wave radio receiver installed. Three outside employees were engaged . . . to visit the various police stations, emergency hospitals, and other locations where news might be obtained. These men, acting in the capacity of reporters, delivered their reports at the office or phoned them in. In addition there were employed two rewrite men and the necessary stenographic service.

Another paragraph reads in part as follows:

> Quite frequently a member of our legal staff who was sometimes present at these trials as an observer carried with him a

* This request was made by wire but was declined by the Industrial Association in a letter from Paul Eliel suggesting instead further study of the files.

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copy of these reports giving the names of the arrested. This in order to assist him in locating the various courts where the arrested would appear.

Exhibit 2 is reproduced below:

No. 286 July 17
Flash—
Confidential from Harbor Police Station: the police will raid all Communist halls and agitators' gathering places at 11:30 today.

Carr 10:31 a. m.

No. 287 July 17
Flash—
Squad car from Harbor Police Station has raided No. 65 Jackson Street, the M. W. I. U. Headquarters. Three patrol wagons containing about 45 individuals have been sent to city prison and about 15 other arrests are being held at the Harbor Sta.

Carr 10:58 a. m.

Exhibit 3 is the telegram sent to *The Nation* by Mr. Boynton denying the charges implied in the issue of August 29. Its principal points are stated and dealt with in Report III.

Exhibits 4 and 5 are reproduced below:

Report 132 July 17
Flash 2:30
Communist meeting to be held at 201 Mariposa corner of Vermont, on Friday at 8 p. m.

Carr 2:30 p. m.

Report No. 300 July 17
Raids: At 1 p. m. today about ten striking teamsters raided Communist offices at 1223 Filmore Street. During raid two men were injured:
Elmer Barry—837 Van Ness Avenue, injuries to back.
Mark Ponton—Fresno—abrasion to scalp and bruises to face.
About the same time there was a disturbance at the branch office of the *Western Worker,* 121 Haight Street, and also an attack on Upton Sinclair's Headquarters on Haight Street near 121.

Carr 4:30 p. m.

Report 296 July 17
Harbor Police Station: There were no police in the crowd storming Communist Headquarters at 37 Grove Street, 121 Haight Street, and the Upton Sinclair Headquarters. These raids were by "indignant citizens," according to police.

Carr 3:21 p. m.

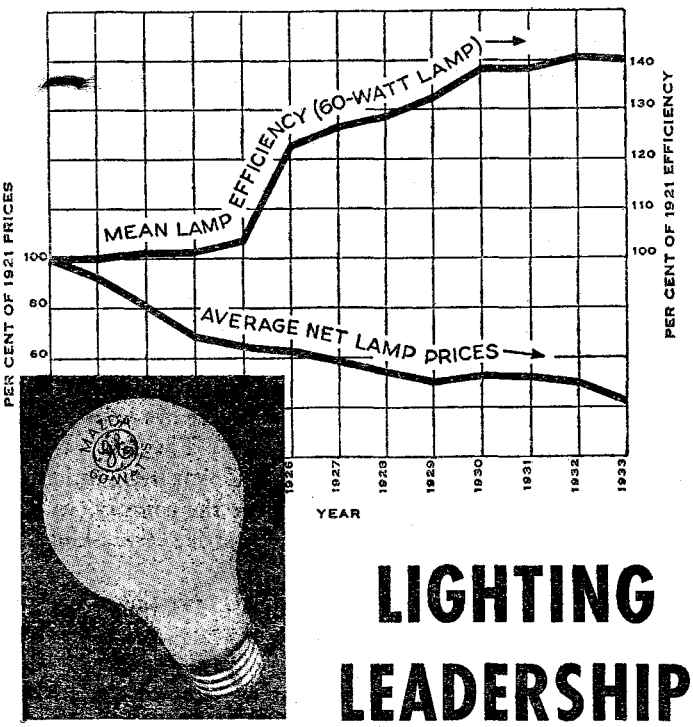
Exhibits 6 and 7 are copies of the correspondence between Shearon Bonner, secretary of the Sinclair Campaign Committee, and William J. Quinn, Chief of Police of the City and County of San Francisco, in reference to a raid reported to be pending on Upton Sinclair headquarters.

The Nation has in hand complete copies of all reports and exhibits here referred to.

Next Week in *The Nation*

Fascism in China

by Harold R. Isaacs



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The Textile Workers Go Back

By MARY W. HILLYER

New Bedford, September 24

STUCK to the door of the United Textile Workers' headquarters on the day the strikers were ordered back to work was a roughly drawn cartoon. A hand symbolizing the Winant board was offering the strikers the Gorman egg of victory, cracked open and empty. The caption consisted of the cries of the strikers: "Where are your promises, Gorman? The thirty-hour week? The end of the stretch-out? The increase in pay? Union recognition?" And that is what textile strikers all over the country, working for the first day after a magnificent strike, are asking of their Gorman-led strike committee.

New England papers are enthusiastic over the ending of the strike. In picture and story the "happy workers" are shown thronging into the mills while editorials welcome the whirr of the spindles as they lament the cost of the strike. Last week strike spirit was high in New Bedford. Every textile mill was closed. Unorganized shirt and pajama workers had joined the strike in a fervor of excitement. Flying squadrons had gone up to Maine and were largely responsible for bringing the non-union workers out. And finally soup kitchens, which had become so efficient in the 1929 strike, were being opened. Today puzzled, disillusioned workers trudge into the greedy mills. "Yes, they are all going in," a trolley man remarked, "but they don't know why or what they have won." He was interrupted by a passenger, "They ought to know—they have promises of everything they struck for and the President's word back of them. That ought to be enough!" When he was reminded that the President was also back of the regularly violated textile codes which provoked the strike, there was unfriendly silence.

In the union office, workers are straggling in from the morning shift, weary from the stretch-out, disheartened at their small earning, ashamed of themselves and their union, which sent them back to work after a three weeks' strike with nothing gained. They talk—rank and file members and union officials.

"We don't know why we've gone back. We haven't won anything. We are waiting for Binns to come and explain. He's left us holding the bag. Our executive board wired Gorman that we unanimously turned down the Winant report. Then Gorman calls us up and says we are to accept it—it's a wonderful victory. That's a hot one!"

"Gee, we thought Gorman was a real fighter when the strike began. The things he said were great. But he double-crossed us. He sold us out. Yeah, we're just lieutenants, taking orders and holding the bag. If we were the generals in Washington the strike would be on until our demands were recognized by the bosses!"

"I'm a weaver and I've been on my uppers but I picketed just the same. All right, we were hungry but we've been hungry before. The strike could have gone on!"

"And don't talk to us about Green and the A. F. of L. He sold us out from the very beginning with his promise of moral and financial help. We haven't seen any of either. We're going to have a union—but we're going to change our leaders!" MacMahon was forgotten from the moment the strike started, but the textile workers are gunning for Gorman and the strike committee.

Socialists and Communists are holding mass-meetings in both mill ends of town. They are pointing out the treachery of the U. T. W. strike committee aided by Green, A. F. of L., and company. But the workers are back in the mills to be exploited and victimized by the employers.

In Fall River the workers at the American Printing Company obeyed union orders and went to work. But when 100 were refused employment, the "happy workers" came out of the mill and on to the picket line again. Nathan Durfee, vice-president of the company, had the audacity to say: "We are living up to the provisions of the code and the President's agreement to the best of our ability." In every textile center incidents like this are occurring.

Already the 1934 U. T. W. strike is history, a history of a gigantic workers' movement, militantly led until it was suddenly, inexplicably, sold out. The United Textile Workers declares it will now organize the entire industry. It is an idle boast. A large part of the strike leadership North and South came from the Socialist Party and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. This fact, coupled with the loss of faith of the workers, will make the organization campaign a dreary camouflage to cover a disastrous retreat. It would seem less awful if Francis Gorman had been more moderate in his statements during the strike and less eloquent in his claims of victory when finally he offered cooperation to the employers for the "stabilization and prosperity of the industry."

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THE RED FLAG

By F. BRITTEN AUSTIN

PUBLISHED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT CO.

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Books, Drama, Films

Rational Esteem

The Queeney Letters. Edited by the Marquis of Lansdowne. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

The Age of Reason. By R. B. Mowat. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

A FEW years ago Lord Lansdowne discovered among family papers a packet of letters addressed to "Queeney" Thrale, the eldest daughter of that sprightly lady who so outraged her old friend Samuel Johnson when she disregarded his solemn advice and proceeded to marry the Italian musician, Gabriel Piozzi. The "find" was not, of course, comparable in importance to the almost incredible Boswell papers, but it was of very real interest nevertheless, and no amateur of eighteenth-century life or literature will want to miss what is here published. There are thirty-three really charming letters from the Doctor himself and an even more substantial number from Fanny Burney and Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi. The Johnson communications begin when Queeney was seven and continue for thirteen years, the last being dated only three months before his death. The others all belong to the period just before or just after the famous marriage.

Poor Mrs. Thrale—as these documents make even clearer than it was before—had the whole world against her. No one seemed to be able to advance a single serious objection to Piozzi himself, and the fact that she lived with him in apparent happiness for twenty-five years would seem to vindicate her judgment. Yet after all this time even Lord Lansdowne seems still impelled to maintain an attitude of cold disapproval not unlike that of Johnson, whose tone, however, certainly suggests something very much like jealousy—if not of Mrs. Thrale's person, then at least of that very comfortable ménage of which he had long enjoyed the freedom. We have it as her own opinion that for a woman "of passable person, ancient family, respectable character, uncommon talents, and three thousand a year" to marry for love was—Oh, delightful eighteenth century!—"rational." Why would none of her friends agree with her?

To me it has always appeared that none of them succeeded any too well in making the reasons they alleged seem very much like the real ones. Lord Lansdowne, nevertheless, accepts them at their face value, assuming that Johnson and the rest were merely shocked that this mother of a large family should not have put first the interests of her children. Yet the fact remains that these children, made wards of Chancery by their recently deceased father, were financially well provided for, and it is difficult to escape the suspicion that the resentment of her friends was primarily not much more than the resentment which the middle-aged and the elderly usually feel when one of their number threatens to renew a youth lost to them forever.

At the age of twenty-three the lady had married a brewer thirteen years older than herself. The twelve children which she bore him were not the fruits of love but only of that "rational esteem" which, it is evident, could accomplish wonders at this particular epoch. She was only forty when the brewer died, and what is more natural than that she should have fallen in love with a presentable Italian who, we may assume, seemed dashing to her eyes even though those responsible for the documents we have seem never to have bothered to let us know very much about him. Obviously she was a bit over-eager and, in all probability, slightly ridiculous besides. In one of the letters to "Queeney" which Lord Lansdowne here prints she reports with humorous indignation the remark of a certain physician who had said—with a downrightness not to be characteristic of another age before our own—that she "needed a man" and that Piozzi, he feared, "would not answer Mrs. Thrale's purpose." Nevertheless he was wrong, Johnson was wrong, Fanny Burney was wrong, and so were all the rest—if we may judge by what appears to have been the happy life of a sprightly woman who had the courage to disregard the most weighty advice of her time. At least it seems hardly necessary for us to maintain an air of solemn disapproval. Even in an age of reason one may be forgiven for becoming just a little weary of reasonableness, and if Mrs. Thrale's conduct was not "rational" it was something a good deal better. It was wise.

Professor Mowat's book is a rather odd production—more than commonly interesting as a somewhat miscellaneous collection of facts simply presented, but hardly justifying the title, which seems to promise a work far more systematic than this one can claim to be. The intention was, apparently, to make a series of general statements about the eighteenth century in Europe and then to illustrate them with specific examples. Somehow or other the whole appears to have got more or less out of hand, and has become a series of brief biographies plus a collection of facts drawn from here and there about the institutions, ideas, and manners of the period. The author is a professor in the University of Bristol who seems to have made the eighteenth century his recreation. The result is a rich and readable miscellany of facts which were, quite obviously, collected during expeditions conducted on hobbyhorse-back.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Conservatism at Its Best

It's Up to Us. By James P. Warburg. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

WALL STREET is perhaps the last place where one would look for clarity regarding the fundamental issues facing the United States today. It is somewhat of a shock, therefore, to discover that a member of the much-maligned banking fraternity has written what is by all odds the most illuminating and penetrating analysis of these issues yet to appear in this country. Despite his business affiliations, James Warburg is no tory. Certain features of his criticism of the New Deal are similar to those contained in the recent outbursts of ex-President Hoover and the American Liberty League, but his point of view differs from the latter in many important respects. The true reactionary, as typified by Senator Reed or Mark Sullivan, is dissatisfied with the New Deal merely because it implies a change from the established order of things; or more particularly because he senses a threat to property rights. Unable to understand the full significance of recent developments, his attack on the recovery program is invariably confined to generalities, such as an appeal for the restoration of the traditional American "liberties."

Mr. Warburg is also interested in retaining these liberties, but unlike the political fundamentalists he is clear, concise, and specific. He has no illusions regarding the origin of our democratic institutions, recognizing that they are but reflections of the system of economy that we have chosen to adopt, in which the function of government is essentially that of preserving the balance of power between conflicting economic forces. But he insists that a government which depends for its existence upon popularity cannot be expected to pursue the clear, straight road of economic planning. Either of two types of society is possible: a free, competitive order, regulated by the forces of supply and demand, in which the weak are given a limited amount of protection; or a wholly regimented society that would place first emphasis upon security for the underprivileged. In Mr. Warburg's opinion the issue is clearly

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joined, and it is suicidal to attempt, as the Administration has done, to straddle between these two points of view. People must accept the fact that there are certain things which they cannot have under our present economic system, or they must decide in favor of a different system.

There is an uncomfortable amount of truth in Mr. Warburg's contention. If the capitalist system is to function efficiently, it must be kept as flexible as possible, and flexibility is inconsistent with security. Schemes for the fixing of wages, prices, or profits, or for the control of production, irrespective of their social desirability, interfere with the normal and necessary adjustments of the profit system. It is probably true, moreover, that any attempt to replace these automatic adjustments by planning will only complicate the problem as long as we are subject to the uncertainties inherent in democracy. For Mr. Warburg, then, there can be only one solution—the reestablishment of what he terms "freedom," that is, flexibility. In order that this may be achieved, he lays down a detailed and clear-cut program. Instead of striving to restore agricultural purchasing power through the restriction of crops, which he rightly condemns as economic suicide, he would seek to recapture the foreign markets through a reduction in tariffs. Industrial activity would be revived by eliminating some of the major uncertainties now confronting business, such as those regarding the future value of money, taxation policy, and the extension of federal regulation. Similarly, he opposes government ownership of banks and the present scheme for insuring deposits on the ground that such measures encourage bad banking, but advocates a drastic overhauling of prevailing banking practices. Reform of the existing system of taxation is also urged, so as to remove what he believes to be an excessive burden on real estate. And, finally, since he is convinced that recovery must be international in character, he stresses the need of a fundamental change in our commercial policy, involving tariff revision, stabilization of the dollar, and an intelligent attitude toward foreign lending.

Taken in its broad aspects, most economists would agree that Mr. Warburg's program offers about the only hope of permanent recovery under capitalism. But the fact remains that a large section of the population—at least half according to the author's own admission—would not be satisfied merely by a return to 1929 conditions. They want security and are going to demand legislation looking to that end irrespective of its effect on the general economic process. Nor are they likely to be dissuaded by an appeal to the traditions for which our forefathers fought and died. Thus democracy, with all of its virtues, has become as great a stumbling-block to the restoration of capitalism as it is to the establishment of a planned economy. The inconsistencies which the author so vigorously criticizes in the Roosevelt recovery program are the direct result of the liberties which he seeks to defend.

As an escape from this dilemma Mr. Warburg would educate the public to recognize what he believes to be its best interests. Should this attempt fail, he declares that it would be far better for us to choose an outright collectivist form of economy than to attempt to preserve capitalism while violating all the rules of the game. This sounds impressive, but one cannot refrain, in view of later portions of the book, from questioning his sincerity in making this statement. All forms of "managed economy" are dismissed on the ground that they would lead to a relatively static society and tend to stultify individual initiative and progress. Here the author is wholly unconvincing. The only evidence which he offers in support of this sweeping condemnation consists of extended quotations from the observations of Colonel Frank Knox, publisher of the Chicago *Daily News*, who recently returned from a brief trip to Europe convinced that we had little to learn from the experiments in planning in Italy, Germany, or the Soviet Union (why the three are grouped together is not exactly clear). While these observations are almost pathetic in their naivete, they doubtless serve the purpose of a political tract. If this section could be conveniently skipped by intelligent readers, the book as a whole should be extremely useful in stimulating realistic thinking on the basic problems which face the American people today. For that reason, if for no other, it deserves wide reading.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

John Brown Marches On

John Brown: Terrible "Saint." By David Karsner. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.

THE literary editor of *The Nation* placed me in an extremely embarrassing position when he asked me to review this volume because I happen to be the author of a ponderous tome on John Brown published in 1910. My embarrassment is due to the fact that on perusing Mr. Karsner's book I find that it is in the main a condensation of my own volume, which it follows exactly in the sequence of narration. More than that, of 171 citations dealing directly with John Brown—this includes quotations from public men and newspapers, and letters to and from John Brown—no less than 133 appear in my book. The contents of the entire thirty-fourth chapter are in my pages. I suppose that I should therefore feel greatly flattered. My difficulty lies here: If I criticize the book shall I not be reflecting indirectly upon my own work? And shall I not be open to the charge of attempting to write down another man's work because it so closely parallels my own?

I do not charge Mr. Karsner with plagiarism partly because I am naturally prejudiced; I only point out that while he declares that he has "spent three years studying the stormy life of this strange man" he could have saved himself a great deal of this time, because transcribing as much material that appears in my pages as he has used could not have taken him very long. As a matter of fact, although the publishers' jacket speaks of "certain letters of his [John Brown's] that have recently come to light," only one such letter appears. Only five letters which do not appear in my book appear in his in part or in full, in addition to this one new letter.

Just why another book on John Brown was necessary in the absence of new material is not apparent. Since mine appeared we have had one by Hill Peebles Wilson, another by Leonard Ehrlich, and still a third from a Southern source, in addition to Stephen Benét's poem and Ronald Gow's short-lived play—all of which is proof of the extraordinary hold John Brown has upon the imagination of writers. If Brown's soul is still marching on, so is the record of him. Mr. Karsner's essay is the thirteenth biographical study which has appeared. Who said that there was nothing in numbers?

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Mr. Burnett's Short Stories

The Maker of Signs. By Whit Burnett. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. $2.

HAD "The Maker of Signs" dropped from the pen of an unknown writer it might have merited a good deal of polite applause. It has all the good and the bad qualities—variety, experimentalism, imitativeness, awkwardness, affectation—that one expects to find in the work of a "promising" apprentice. Coming as it does, however, from that Ward McAllister of the short story, Whit Burnett, editor of *Story*, regular contributor to the annual "Best Short Stories," this collection is tremendously disappointing. It is hard to believe that these

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stories represent the peak of Mr. Burnett's achievement. It would be kinder to think that he had discovered the majority of them in an old trunk. Since this is the first published collection of his work, the latter alternative is an impossible one, and one is forced to consider Mr. Burnett vastly overpraised.

"The Maker of Signs" contains nineteen short stories, only two of which seem to me wholly successful. There are almost as many techniques, or attempts at techniques, as there are stories. Mr. Burnett, experienced as he ought to be in the field of the short story, has not yet found his own voice. In this collection one sees him floundering, grasping now at Sherwood Anderson's coat tails, now at Hemingway's, now at the skirts of Gertrude Stein. The stories, variegated as they are, are almost all as familiar and as obvious as the Cinderella tale. In the Anderson vein there are two versions of the story of the sensitive boy learning to be a newspaper reporter and several accounts of the same boy, a few years younger, growing up in the crude Western towns. From Hemingway are taken the nostalgic stories of the boy going fishing with his father, of the young Americans going fishing in Spain. In none of these moods and techniques is Mr. Burnett comfortable. There is fine sharp writing in individual stories, but there is almost inevitably too much of it. Throughout the book there is a strong sense of self-consciousness, pretentiousness, strain. Mr. Burnett seems really at his ease in but two stories—"The Cats Which Cried" and "Herr Qualla." These whimsical, sentimental comedies are not very modern, not experimental, but they do have a special quality and an individual charm.

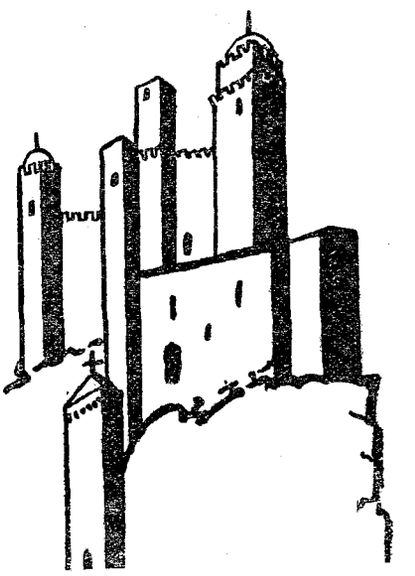
MARY MCCARTHY

Imperial Exhibit

Indian Patchwork. By Edward and Mary Charles. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

THIS book is an exhibit of the psychological pathology of imperialism. It is not important or pleasant, though for those who think about the problems of imperialism it is distinctly interesting. It is presumably authentic, but even if not a real record, it shows the frame of mind of some members of the leading imperialist nation.

The book purports to be two diaries kept from 1927 to 1928 by an Englishman and his wife, while the husband was the principal of a mixed Hindu-Moslem university college in central India. It vividly records their irritation and doubts, torments of conscience, and repulsion from almost all Indians and from all aspects of their life in India as members of the alien governing group. Their state of mind is distinctly morbid. The diaries clearly depict the reactions of fairly sensitive English civilians in India to the rising Indian rebellion. The diarists have the usual British political, economic, cultural, and color pride along with their sensitiveness. Having gone out to India with that strong and deep conviction of vast superiority, they are enormously irritated by the assertion of Indians striving for self-government and self-respect. They are ashamed of the injustices they witness and take part in, but pride makes them try to blame everything upon Indian character. They are repelled and disgusted by Indian inferiority complexes, forgetting that these have been created by British attitudes and actions. They are unable to see that the initial imperialist assumptions of superiority inevitably work out to cruelty and injustice. Finally they can no longer stand the inner conflict between pride and conscience. The white man's burden proves to be of "so intolerable a weight" that the principal resigns and the two diarists leave India with immense relief but with consciences still troubled. They are sure that British power in India will soon end.



BLACK MONASTERY

by ALADAR KUNCZ

Aladar Kuncz, Hungarian, is no longer living. But he left a book which the world will not soon forget, a memoir of his four and a half years' internment in French prisons during the war. The power of the book is beyond question. It is thrilling—terrifying—incredibly revealing of the depths of the human spirit. Here are only a few of the amazing reviews of an amazing document:

"Indisputably one of the great memoirs of captivity, a book that, without once raising its voice, both thrills and touches.

CLIFTON FADIMAN, *New Yorker*

"On the small shelf of the world's prison literature, side by side with Feodor Dostoevsky's *The House of Death* and E. F. Cummings' *The Enormous Room* will be found a place for *Black Monastery.*"

Time Magazine

"The author of *Black Monastery* has opened his veins and dipped the pen in his own blood. . . . There is a strange unearthly power here."

PERCY HUTCHISON, N. Y. *Times*

"His is a voice from the dead . . . his story takes on the rhythm, the other-worldness of epic tragedy. It should take its place beside any of the narratives of captivity."—*Saturday Review.*
'Unqualified applause . . . In every page of this book there is an unmistakable splendor."

—GEORGE DANGERFIELD, *Vanity Fair*

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They quote in passing a young British magistrate, an officer of the Indian Civil Service, who says this of Indians:

> We can despise and hate them, too; but what we can't do any more is to exact the outward forms of respect. These swine are still frightened of me about essentials. They know they can't get round behind my judgments, but I can no more make them show personal respect than I can fly.

RICHARD B. GREGG

Poetry with Footnotes

Rock and Shell. By John Wheelwright. Bruce Humphries. $2.50.

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT'S mental and emotional world is furnished almost entirely with books. He is a very erudite poet, a student of religion, particularly of the Anglican religion, and a student of prosody and of the older poets and their mythologies. At the end of his collection of verse are footnotes to almost every poem. And his poems need footnotes, not only because, like Eliot's or Pound's, they are full of quotations which the reader delights in placing, but because they draw their imagery, almost always symbolic, from a scholarly reading of such books as Baring-Gould's "Lost and Hostile Gospels," from Walker's "translation of a Nestorian novel on the Acts of Thomas," and from special poems by certain earlier poets. Technically, Wheelwright is a most expert poet. But as Malcolm Cowley says, he is not a popular or an easy poet. Nor is he, I think, a poet of any great stature, for he lacks originality in rhythm and syntax, and, most of all, immediacy in the expression of emotion. His poems are intellectual arguments, skilfully phrased, precisely patterned.

All great literature, says Yeats somewhere, is symbolic. This, in the larger use of the word "symbolic," is true. John Wheelwright's poems, however, employ a very special symbolism—as special even as religious symbolism. He is concerned with the problem of the one and the many, of reality and illusion. He has read profoundly in philosophy and religion. He employs the dialectic of the Church Fathers; Forty Days is a long poem of questions and answers which form the author's prosodical statement of faith.

Some of the lyrics are not religious in tenor. Plantation Drouth is almost purely and very beautifully descriptive. The poet remarks, however, that this picture was induced as much by an economic as by the atmospheric barometer. Another, Canal Street, "depends at first upon a sonnet of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's and closes with a line of James Russell Lowell's." The Huntsman "grew from the Greek Anthology to a dilemma in revolutionary desire." This poem and the Salvation Army Girl, incidentally, indicate that John Wheelwright has discovered the class struggle; but this seems to be about all he has to say about it:

> Each Chamber of Commerce manufactures
> its own Five-Year Plan;
> a super-power plant has shaken
> the palace of the Vatican;
> Neo-Thomists and not engineers
> Should meet in consultation,
> while the Apostolic Radio
> weeps for the Workingman.
> Two blades of grass grow where one grew before.
> U. S. S. R. and U. S. A., Y. M. C. A?
> Go on, Go on, **from strength to strength.**
> Bigger and better. Bigger and better.

We gather, from this somewhat satirical comment in Eliot's rhythm that schemes for mere economic security do not interest Mr. Wheelwright. He thinks man's salvation lies, rather, in the "Rock," in faith—though he is a bit more of a skeptic than is Eliot.

The difficulty with such poetry as Mr. Wheelwright's is that it leaves most readers quite cold. The poet's vision is not given in authentic imagery and symbols of the physical world or even in imagery of the intellectual world of fact. It is expressed, very largely, in special philosophic and religious imagery. The result is prosodic argument, interesting, very exactly, at times even beautifully, expressed, but not poetry. Moreover, Mr. Wheelwright draws on his literary reading for his rhythms. One hears echoes of the more important moderns in most of his lyrics.

EDA LOU WALTON

Drama

The Quiet Side

IT is difficult to imagine a dramatic talent more tenuous than that of John Van Druten. His chosen field is the field of the most intimate domestic affections, and his characters, almost without exception, are persons who have contracted their interests to such a degree that these interests hardly extend beyond the limits of the family group within whose sheltering confines the characters have taken refuge from a rough world. Moreover, the very domestic affections themselves seem to demand for their direct presentation a downrightness which he would rather avoid, and the crises of even family life are often alluded to rather than actually presented in those tranquil scenes just before dinner or at tea-time which he loves to select.

In two of his plays there was superimposed upon this tranquillity a more positive quality—a certain poignancy in "Young Woodley" and a certain gaiety in "There's Always Juliet." In others, like the unfortunate "After All," unpretentiousness passed over into insipidity, and from the placid course of near-events it became impossible to receive any impression whatever. Unfortunately "The Distaff Side," brought from England to the Booth Theater as a vehicle for Dame Sybil Thorndike, is distinctly on the quiet as well as on the distaff side. Like all its author's work it has, to be sure, its moments of charm. His people are irresistibly likable even when they seem, as in this play they do, to be more negative, to have less real character, than even the average member of the class they represent. Moreover, there are flashes of humor which are shrewd as well as gentle. But there is simply not enough of anything positive to sustain the interest at any very high pitch throughout an evening. Dame Sybil, like the play itself, is well bred and gracious. Yet it would be, I think, mere polite pretense to assert that she does, or has the opportunity to do, anything likely to make her presence memorable.

In so far as the author permits himself to reveal a theme, it seems to have something to do with wives and the different roles which they can play in the lives of their husbands. There is a tart and selfish old grandmother, a pleasure-loving flirt, a somewhat unformed young girl, a stodgy housewife, and finally an image of perfection who, characteristically, is presented as a widow whose perfect relationship with her former husband is alluded to rather than illustrated. The play ends with this lady in her solitary but not lonely bedroom, and the ending is so like the ending of a certain sentimental novel alluded to and ridiculed at the very beginning of the evening that the author must have been aware of the similarity himself and deliberately "planted" the satiric bit in a not wholly successful effort to convince the spectator that the chord on which he closes is not really the cliché it appears.

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The fact remains, nevertheless, that when Mr. Van Druten is faced with the unescapable necessity of striking a positive note, when he is compelled, willy-nilly, to announce a theme, he does tend to fall back upon a sentiment which he seems unable to differentiate very clearly from conventional sentimentality. Perhaps, then, the most serious defect in his work is less that it is slight and "unimportant" than that he is inclined at times to deny the fact. If he were content to write pleasant and humane but entirely unpretentious comedy, he has wit enough and charm enough to carry him to complete success in a frankly minor manner. His people, agreeable if essentially rather insignificant, could then defend themselves well enough by being merely what they are.

But Mr. Van Druten is apparently not quite content to accept his own limitations. He wants to give the kind of character he portrays a solid, moral justification, and he shows, accordingly, an embarrassing disposition to proclaim—just when he shouldn't—not only that Mother Was Right or that Love Is Best, but that the whole duty of man consists in a proper acknowledgment of these great truths. Loyalty, love, and the ties which bind a man to his mother, his wife, and his children, may imply a depth of feeling which, as he seems always to be telling us, is unutterable. But it is, after all, the business of a playwright who would use it as his main theme to utter it, and that is just what Mr. Van Druten will neither do nor refrain from suggesting that he should. Certainly it is not at the moments when he is being merely light or amusing that one is most tempted to dismiss his plays as trivial. At such times one is aware chiefly of the grace and humor with which he can write. It is, on the contrary, only when he seems himself to find such writing not enough that we begin to feel the need of qualities which he obviously does not possess.

"Small Miracle" (Golden Theater) is one of the many descendants of "Grand Hotel." This time it is in the lobby of a theater that the half-dozen little melodramas cross, and there is quite a bit of the sort of excitement the genre is supposed to provide. No one, of course, need take the moral (Life is full of Life) very seriously; but the direction of George Abbott assures the presence of numerous bits of comic realism, and there is a very striking performance by Joseph Spurin-Calleia in the role of the inevitable murderer.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Films

The Brownings in Hollywood

SO certain does it seem at the moment that "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" is going to repeat on the screen the same success which it enjoyed for three or four seasons on the stage that it is perhaps in order to suggest some theory for the rather strange popularity of this play. For it is not at all plausible that the historical actuality of its principal characters has anything very much to do with the case. It is unlikely that very many who responded to the original play had more than a sophomore acquaintance with the poetry of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning. And it is even less likely that the millions who will throb to the melancholy beauty of Miss Norma Shearer and the sinister fascination of Mr. Charles Laughton will be affected in their response by recollections of "Sordello" and "Sonnets from the Portuguese." The Besier play must depend on something much more substantial than mere sentimental literary association to appeal to such vast audiences on both stage and screen. It must deal with a theme that is especially interesting to a great many people today, and

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NEXT WEEK—*The Fall Book Number*

it must render this theme in a manner that is dramatically thoroughly satisfying.

The central theme of "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" happens to be one which, in view of its probable widespread application in the lives of many theatergoers, has received surprisingly little attention from contemporary playwrights. This is the more remarkable because of the hard white light that has been thrown on it by modern psychology. The antagonism that exists so frequently between parents and children has undoubtedly always existed, but the revelations by psychology of its obscure sources in the unconscious of both have given it a fresher and more active interest for the modern mind. It is in turn an interest not incapable of its own psychological explanation, however, and one touches the point about the Besier play in expressing the suspicion that its deepest appeal has been to those thousands of misunderstood sons and daughters everywhere who have found in Elizabeth Barrett's rebellion a release for their own pent-up resentment toward intrenched parenthood. Not only does it deal to a large extent with the unconscious but it also addresses itself to the unconscious in its audience. This alone would not be sufficient guaranty of its success if its author did not also happen to be an unusually expert craftsman in the theater. Indeed, it is the impregnable soundness of its dramaturgy that will most impress those who go to see it for the second time on the screen. Unquestionably, the screen version is less satisfactorily acted and directed than the play. The psychological shading in important scenes is sacrificed for blunt effects of humor or pathos. Miss Shearer is still more lovely to look at than to listen to and Mr. March reels off most of his lines as if he had no great interest in their possible meaning. Only Mr. Laughton may be compared with any of the members of Miss Cornell's company, but he struggles vainly at times against a direction which tends to make his role a caricature. Yet the play emerges substantially every bit as effective as in its original form, and one is confirmed in believing that it would do so even if put on by a high-school dramatic society.

There is to be detected all through Miss Mae West's latest challenge to public morals and taste a disturbing and inappropriate note of weariness. It is a silly parade of concupiscence, murder, and arson which serves Miss West for her excuse this time. The background of St. Louis and New Orleans pleasure dens of the nineties has not been very carefully reconstructed, and the anachronisms of every kind become bothersome. But it is not so much to all this that one refers as to a certain lassitude that seems to have overtaken Miss West herself. The obvious delight and amusement with herself which she used to show are no longer there. She does not try so hard to put over her songs and she does not even trouble to make her wisecracks heard. Whether it is the influence of the Hollywood climate or the unkindness of the League of Decency that is to blame, something has happened to Miss West in "Belle of the Nineties." Or is it just possibly we ourselves who are beginning to betray signs of weariness? *La chair est triste, hélas,* even when one has not read all the books.

Recommendation of "British Agent" must be accompanied with the caution that it manages a rather more than usually adroit weighing of the scales against the Soviets in telling its story of a young English diplomat who becomes involved with a woman member of the Cheka. The picture is superbly acted by Leslie Howard and Kay Francis, and both photography and direction are distinctly above the average. "Thunderstorm" (Cameo) is a Soviet treatment of the celebrated drama by Ostrovsky. The film is admirable for the photographic lyricism of certain passages, the still-portraits of provincial types, and the reconstruction of Russian village life under the old regime. But as a whole it is a slow-moving, lachrymose, and frequently grotesque affair.

WILLIAM TROY

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